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IDF source: PA smuggling weapons via Sinai tunnels

By STEVE RODAN
and ARNOLD O'SULLIVAN

The Palestinian Authority is smuggling weapons illegally through the Sinai via tunnels as well as locally-produced arms, some of which have been used in clashes with Israeli troops, a very senior military source said yesterday.

The source would not specify what the IDF knows has been smuggled through six unauthorized tunnels that connect Sinai to the PA-controlled Gaza Strip.

But he said military commanders are assuming that virtually any weapon the PA can order that can be transported through the tunnels is being brought into Gaza.

This could include anything from Katyusha rockets, Stinger

shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles and anti-tank weapons.

Under the Israeli-Palestinian interim agreements, all weapons brought into PA areas must be registered by Israel.

The Palestinians are prohibited from manufacturing grenades and heavy munitions.

The source said the Palestinians are already producing Uzi submachine guns and grenades in secret workshops in Gaza.

He added that during the

Palestinian clashes with the IDF on May 14 during the PA-organized demonstrations to mark what it terms the Nakba, or the catastrophe of the birth of Israel, a Palestinian-made grenade was thrown at Israeli soldiers near the Morag junction in the Gaza Strip. The grenade did not explode.

"The next time, they might use anti-tank weapons against us," the source said. "We then might have to respond with tanks and helicopters."

The IDF source said the PA has made half-hearted efforts to stop the smuggling or production of illegal weapons.

He said the PA raided the Hamas-operated grenade and Uzi factory but did not seize the several hundred grenades found at the site.

"The PA says that the weapons are being produced or smuggled for commercial reasons," the source said.

The source did not rule out the prospects of an imminent bloody

Palestinian conflict with the IDF in the territories — given the currently stalled peace process.

He said the PA sought to encourage Palestinians to clash with Israeli troops during the Nakba Day celebrations.

The PA left several roadblocks unmanned, particularly the one at Erez, while thousands of Palestinians stormed toward Israeli positions, the source said.

But IDF commanders were given reinforcements and issued clear orders to shoot if attacked —

regardless of whether the Palestinian attackers were in civilian or military dress.

"If the PA organizes demonstrators and brings them to IDF outposts, we will ensure that our soldiers will not be hurt," the source said.

"The incident of September 1996 [in which 15 soldiers were killed in clashes with Palestinians] will not be repeated."

See TUNNELS, Page 2

Third Way seeks unity gov't

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

The Third Way yesterday said it would try to meet with President Ezer Weizman, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Labor Party leaders in an effort to form a national unity government to rescue the stalled peace process.

Labor chairman Ehud Barak, however, said that a unity government is not on his party's agenda.

"This bad government must be replaced," he told reporters in Tel Aviv. "We now have a government that is not thinking about the security of its citizens but of its own survival and the survival of the man at its head."

He called on Netanyahu to cancel his trip to China this week and

Coalition to boycott
no-confidence vote, Page 2

to travel instead to Washington to finalize an agreement on the second redeployment.

Third Way Leaders, who met yesterday to discuss Netanyahu's controversial statements on the state of the peace process, demanded the prime minister resist right-wing pressures and implement the second pullback.

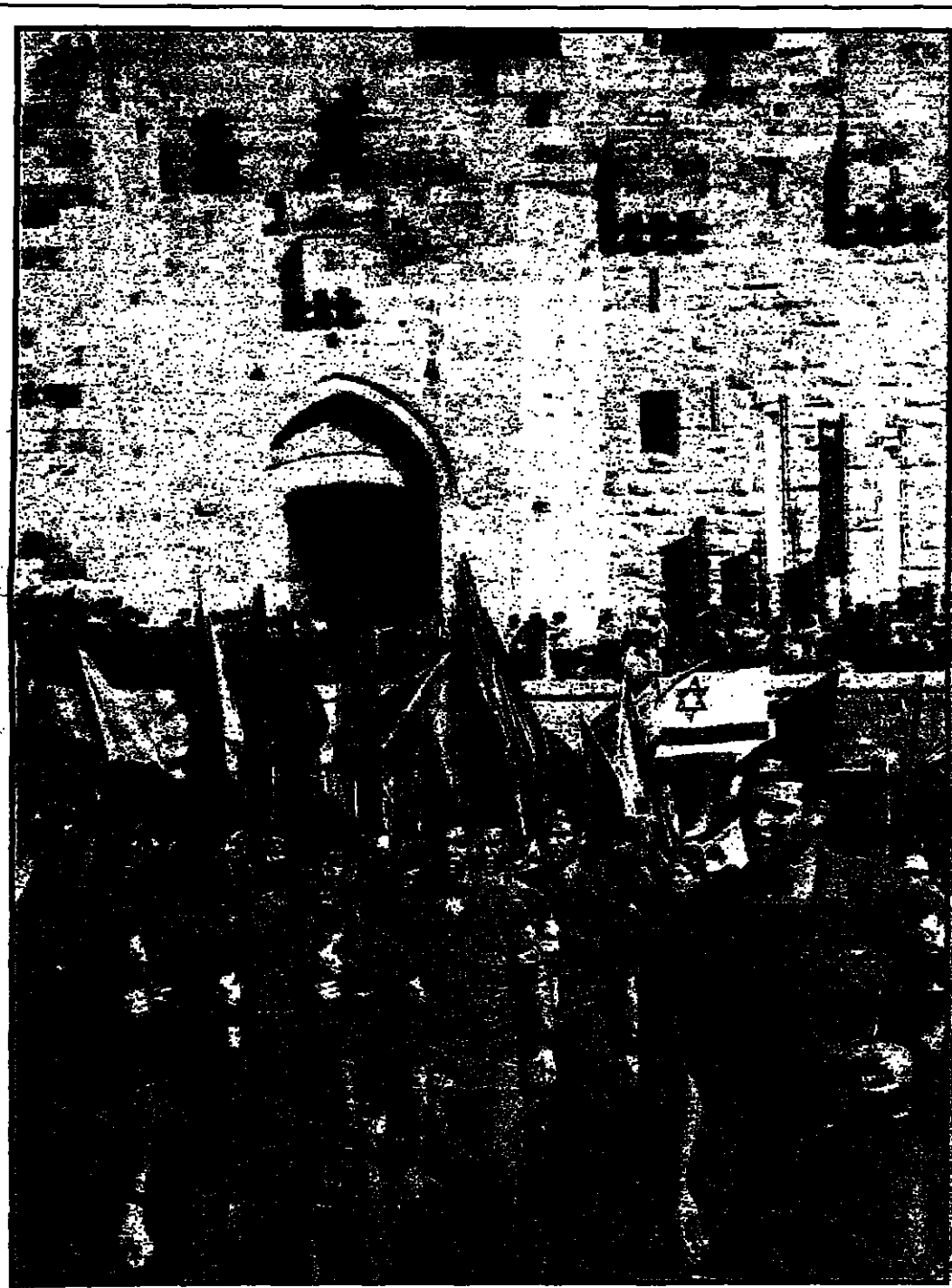
However, party leaders were divided in their response to Netanyahu's statements. While MKs Alex Lubotsky and Yehuda Harel are demanding the party take steps to pressure Netanyahu to implement the second pullback and advance the peace process, Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani argues this is not the time to spark a coalition crisis.

"I admit I'm confused. I don't know where Netanyahu is heading," Lubotsky said yesterday. "The government is held in a vise by the radical right wing and I'm not sure it's going in the direction it has declared it will go in its guidelines, to implement the peace process."

Third Way and Labor MKs are said to be discussing a deal in which Labor would give Netanyahu a parliamentary safety net and not support any no-confidence motion brought by the Right to challenge a second pullback. The Third Way, for its part, would publicly warn Netanyahu that if the redeployment isn't carried out by the end of July, it will quit the coalition and join Labor in an attempt to topple the government.

Kahalani yesterday denied the existence of any deal between his party and Labor.

Kahalani said "we must not create a crisis now or break up the government, as this would only weaken our position in the negotiations with the Palestinians. It would be irresponsible to put a gun to Netanyahu's temple at this stage."



Soldiers march past Jaffa Gate toward Kikar Safra in Jerusalem as part of the Jerusalem Day Jubilee March yesterday.

March highlights Jerusalem Day

By ELLI WOHLGELER

Energetic dancing, a military parade, nationalist songs, memorial ceremonies, a couple of scuffles and a huge traffic jam marked yesterday's 31st annual Jerusalem Day celebration.

The main event was the parade, which was more elaborate than in past years as it also was part of the 50th anniversary celebrations. It included 13,000 paratroopers, pilots and sailors, and many army vehicles, while F-15 fighter planes and C-130 transport planes flew overhead.

Tens of thousands of people lined the parade route along Jaffa Road and King George Street, waving flags and waving to their friends, as a festive holiday ambience prevailed throughout the downtown area.

In eastern Jerusalem, however, it was a different story. Outside the Old City walls, two dozen Arabs threw stones at police and the passing parade, wounding two marchers before police dispersed the stone-throwers. No one was arrested.

On the streets inside the walls, a few flag-waving celebrants got into a tussle with some Arabs, but no one was hurt.

Outside Orient House, the spokesman for Our Jerusalem, Ron Torosian, got into a fight

with one of the security guards when he placed a placard on the sidewalk in front of the gates of the building.

"Today, on Jerusalem Day, we see that the Arabs respond with violence to peaceful Jewish protesters," Torosian said. "Even worse, however, is that the Israeli police refused to take action against those Arabs who resorted to violence."

For their part, the Arab population saw the day's activities — which actually began the previ-

ous night, with celebrations at the Beit Orot yeshiva on the Mount of Olives that continued until dawn yesterday — as a provocation.

Several Palestinian groups distributed a leaflet urging Moslems to gather at Al-Aksa to prevent the Temple Mount Faithful from praying on the Temple Mount. Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement and Moslem clerics signed the leaflet.

Police stopped about 40 members of the Temple Mount Faithful, which claimed it had

police permission to enter the Temple Mount yesterday, from entering the area.

"We came to say that Jerusalem is a Jewish city forever," the group's leader Gershon Salomon said outside the Mugrabi Gate, the entrance to the Temple Mount from the Western Wall plaza. "Never will a Palestinian state be founded in our land... This city cannot be shared."

Festivities, traffic and
20,000 marchers, Page 3

Following new US initiative Gov't mulls 11+4% pullback proposal

By HERB KEINON
and Jerusalem Post Staff

The security cabinet convened late last night to consider a revised US proposal aimed at breaking the deadlock over the scope of an IDF redeployment in the West Bank.

A senior diplomatic source said the proposal, which was one of several presented during Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's recent visit to Washington, calls for the second pullback to comprise 11% of the West Bank and to be implemented within three months.

An additional 4% is to be turned over to the PA no later than the beginning of the final-status talks, which, according to the Oslo Accords, are to commence by next May.

Both redeployments would hinge on what Israel terms "reciprocity" in implementing the accords.

Under this proposal, the Palestinians would come to the final-status talks controlling 42% of the West Bank.

Netanyahu delayed his departure for an official trip to China by six hours to meet for a third time with the security cabinet.

The flurry of activity came as some cabinet ministers complained they are being kept out of the loop on the negotiations over redeployment and as Netanyahu insisted yesterday that the peace process is in "dire straits."

With this terminology, the prime minister continued to back down somewhat from comments he made Friday, when he said that the peace had "collapsed" two years ago after a wave of suicide bombings.

Yesterday, at a meeting with some 25 US legislators here on a visit to mark the country's

jubilee, Netanyahu said: "I said here in the hotel on Friday that the peace process was in dire straits in the first two years of Oslo. I repeat that statement."

Indeed, said Netanyahu, the picture the world has had of a thriving peace process over the years has been misleading.

"We had a peace process that began in Madrid, in rapid phases of deterioration by the end of 1995," Netanyahu told the congressmen.

"With the exception of the Jordanian-Israeli success, it came to a complete standstill with the wave of terror in the spring of 1996," he said.

Netanyahu told the delegation that talks with Lebanon had

Gingrich to meet Arafat
Wednesday, Page 2

already "dwindled" by 1993, that the multilateral talks had faltered in late 1995, that the talks with Syria ended in 1996, and that final-status talks with the Palestinians were postponed that year due to the wave of terror.

The delegation leaders included Newt Gingrich, Richard Gephardt, and Benjamin Gilman, who spoke of Israel in glowing terms and greeted Netanyahu warmly.

Gephardt, the House minority leader, who said that the US has no role in "telling you or others what your position should be on making peace," apparently did not hear Netanyahu's charting of the demise of the process.

He said the delegation came "as friends, facilitators, and resource people to help to try and allow both sides to continue what has been a very successful peace

process over a very long period of time."

Labor Party head Ehud Barak said the timing of Netanyahu's remarks regarding the state of the peace process is not coincidental, but rather an "attempt to create an alibi for his failure by casting the blame on previous governments."

During a discussion on the peace process in the cabinet, Netanyahu said that before the government was established, there was no reality of peace but rather one of repeated acts of terrorism.

"There was a problematic agreement, which was not even honored by the Palestinian side. The cabinet agreed to accept the agreement and remains obligated to continuing the peace process, on condition that the other side fulfills its commitments," he said.

Regarding the extent of the redeployment, the prime minister said that Israel has not reached an agreement with the United States on this matter.

"Israel can carry out the redeployment, on condition that its security interests are not affected," he said.

Steve Rodan and Mohammed Najib add:

Upon returning to Gaza from Cairo, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat said the US had not set a deadline for Israeli agreement to the Clinton administration's bridging proposals for a redeployment.

Arafat also called on Washington to blame Israel for the breakdown of the peace process.

"I didn't fix a date, but I am insisting that the American administration [announce] its initiative and what happened to this initiative," he said.

Pat Robertson TV bid splits settlers

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Reports that American evangelist preacher Pat Robertson is considering moving his Christian Broadcasting Network's (CBN) Middle Eastern TV subsidiary to Ariel in Samaria, drew sharp criticism from the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza yesterday.

However, Ariel Mayor Ron Nahman said he would happily receive any network interested in setting up a station in his town.

Criticizing a Newsweek report claiming that Robertson would pump \$10 million into the town over the next five years in conjunction with the move, Nahman charged it was an obvious attempt to "cook the news" and harm Ariel's image.

While Nahman claimed he had never met or spoken to Robertson, he said that there had been discussions with METV, which currently is based in southern Lebanon.

METV, he said, also had approached the Palestinian Authority, the Jordanians and offi-

cials in Cyprus to discuss relocating in their areas.

Nahman, though, was outraged at the "Christian" connotations mentioned in the report and the attempts to "sensationalize" the move. He declared "if the BBC, CNN or the French television station TV5 approached me I would be amenable to the idea: aren't they owned by Christians?"

He denied that CBN's presence would encourage missionary activities and declared that he envisioned Ariel turning into a communications and technological center.

Nahman said he had no knowledge of the \$10m. cited in the report and said "my plans for Ariel's future will exceed by a long shot the \$10m. mentioned in the Newsweek report."

Yehudit Tayar, spokeswoman for the settler's council, said council members would view such a move with mixed feelings.

"While we welcome anyone wishing to support the people of Israel, unfortunately in the past there have been blatant attempts

by missionaries seeking to convert Jews in Yeshua communities and in Israel in general."

Tayar said that over the years, the council has discovered members of Christian movements in settlements attempting to convert the Jewish residents. She cited Ariel, Givat Ze'ev and communities in the Gush Etzion bloc as examples.

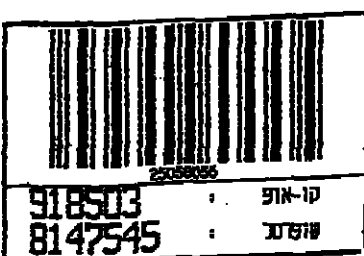
"I don't want to dissuade anyone who comes to show their support for Israel or the Yeshua communities, but we must determine what their true intentions are."

However, Nahman declared that the future of his town of 15,000, with plans to expand to 60,000 residents, would depend on its development as a center of information, technology and biotechnology.

"Broadcasting is a part of that," he said.

Robertson's spokesman at CBN headquarters in Virginia Beach, VA, was not available over the holiday weekend for comment.

Marilyn Henry contributed to this report.



NEWS

in brief

YU student found dead in NY

Nearly two weeks after he disappeared from Yeshiva University, the body of Joshua Bender was found yesterday in New York's Hudson River, according to police accounts. There was no immediate indication of how long the 19-year-old sophomore from Fair Lawn, New Jersey, had been dead, or of the cause of his death. On the night of May 12, according to news accounts, Bender said he was planning to meet classmates to study for a final exam. It then appeared as though he had vanished into thin air. An ominous sign, friends were quoted as saying, was that he had left his tefillin in his dorm room. Bender, a business student, spent last year studying in Israel. His family said at a news conference last week that he had no academic or social problems. *Marilyn Henry*

Road in planned gov't complex named for Rabin

The main road passing through the planned government complex in Jerusalem was renamed Rabin Boulevard yesterday evening. The government complex, which is still in the planning stages, will eventually concentrate the government ministries in one place. Yitzhak Rabin's widow, Leah, and his son, Yuval, attended the ceremony. Also in attendance were Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, Labor Party chairman Ehud Olmert, and Chief of General Staff Lt. Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak. *Itim*

Arafat, Mubarak discuss int'l peace conference

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat met Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak for talks yesterday on a proposed international conference to revive peace talks. The conference would aim "to save the peace process from the failure it is in and the complete halt which it has reached," Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said after the 75-minute meeting.

Last Monday Mubarak and French President Jacques Chirac proposed the international meeting as a way to revive efforts at a settlement. The two leaders agreed to exclude Israel and the Palestinians from the first phase of the conference, reportedly to avoid bickering. Arafat supports the conference, but Israel does not. After the meeting in Egypt, Arafat returned to Gaza and then left for a one-day trip to Saudi Arabia, PA spokesman Nabil Abu Rudeineh said. *News agencies*

Assad meets Sheikh Yassin

Syrian President Hafez Assad met yesterday with Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin. Presidential spokesman Joubran Kourieh said Assad and Yassin discussed " dangers facing the Palestinian people from the Israeli government." "The talks dealt with the Israeli policies which are blocking the peace process," Kourieh said. "Sheikh Yassin thanked Syria for its historical support for the Palestinian cause," he added. Kourieh said the meeting was attended by Foreign Minister Farouk Shara and Hamas officials Khaled Masha'al, Moussa Abu Marzook, Imad Alami, Ibrahim Ghoshe and Abu Mohammed Mustafa. *Reuters*

Bentsur meets Jordanian FM

Foreign Ministry Director-General Eitan Bentsur met yesterday in Amman with Jordanian Foreign Minister Jawad al-Majid and the head of the royal court, Faysal Tarawneh. Bentsur stressed Israel's commitment to continue with the peace process, while his Jordanian hosts said they wanted to help with the continuation of the process. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Latrun soldiers buried 50 years after falling

The funeral of Captain Moshe Duvdevani, who fell during the battle for Latrun 50 years ago, will be held today at 4 p.m. at the Mt. Herzl Military Cemetery. The funeral of another soldier who fell at Latrun, Pvt. Aharon Tikotzy, of Petah Tikva, will be held at 4 p.m. on Wednesday in the military cemetery in Petah Tikva. Both soldiers had been buried in a Tel Aviv cemetery after being killed in the battle for Latrun on May 25, 1948, but their bodies were not identified until last month. *Itim*

Police okay rubber gloves for gays

Individual policemen should decide for themselves whether to wear rubber gloves during demonstrations by homosexuals, police sources said yesterday. The clarification came after complaints that police used gloves during a confrontation with participants in a drag festival in Tel Aviv Friday night. A police spokesman said that rubber gloves are available for use by policemen when touching corpses, addicts and other ill people. He said there was no explicit order to use the gloves on Friday night. *Itim*

Histadrut updates eligible voters

The Histadrut's elections committee yesterday was busy sending out electoral notices to 627,104 eligible voters giving the location of their nearest polling station. The committee has also set up a toll-free voter information hotline at 1-800-544-555. The Histadrut elections are on June 9. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Slowdown at hospital after doctor attacked

Doctors at Kaplan Hospital in Rehovot put the hospital on a Shabbat footing for 24 hours yesterday afternoon, after a doctor was beaten by relatives of a patient he was unable to resuscitate. The attack came even though security men were present on the ward. They had been called to the department because two weeks ago the same family had vandalized the hospital's recovery room when a different family member died. In yet another incident two weeks ago, a surgeon was attacked in the hospital's emergency room when a patient received care his family deemed "insufficient." Dr. Haim Solan, head of the hospital doctors' division of Kupat Holim Clalit, decried the recurring violence and said any hospital in which a medical staffer is attacked would be struck. *Itim*

Buses to run to Mount of Olives

A new bus service is to be inaugurated soon in Jerusalem to serve those persons wishing to visit the Mount of Olives cemetery. Transportation Minister Shaul Yahalom announced last week that four buses a day initially would run from the center of Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives. The number of buses will be increased if there is a demand for additional service, he said. *Eli Wohlgerlinter*

To Michal Moda'i, President of World WIZO and her family
Our deepest and heartfelt sympathy on the irreparable loss of their beloved husband, father and grandfather

YITZHAK MODA'I

who played such an important role in the building of the State of Israel.

May you be comforted among all the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.

Musha Kirsh, President of the Women's Zionist Organization of South Africa, Council Members and Staff.

Following PA negotiator's comment on embassy-site visit:

Gingrich refuses to meet Erekat

By HERB KEIMON
and news agencies

US House Speaker Newt Gingrich demanded yesterday that Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat be barred from a meeting scheduled with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat.

The meeting is to be held in Ramallah on Wednesday.

In making his demand, Gingrich cited remarks last week by Erekat, who had warned that Gingrich's

planned visit to the embassy site could provoke violence.

Gingrich angered Palestinians last week by saying he would visit the proposed site for a new US embassy in Jerusalem - and then reversed himself at the behest of the White House.

The meeting is likely to be "extraordinary," according to one US congressman.

"I think the meeting will be extraordinary because the speaker is so direct," said Congressman

Peter Deutsch, a liberal democrat from a heavily Jewish district in Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

"He is going to ask direct questions to Arafat, such as why did you do x, y and z," said Deutsch, who is part of the 20-member congressional delegation that Gingrich is leading in honor of Israel's jubilee.

Deutsch said that Gingrich has statements Arafat has made in the last few weeks, including one in which he called for the phased

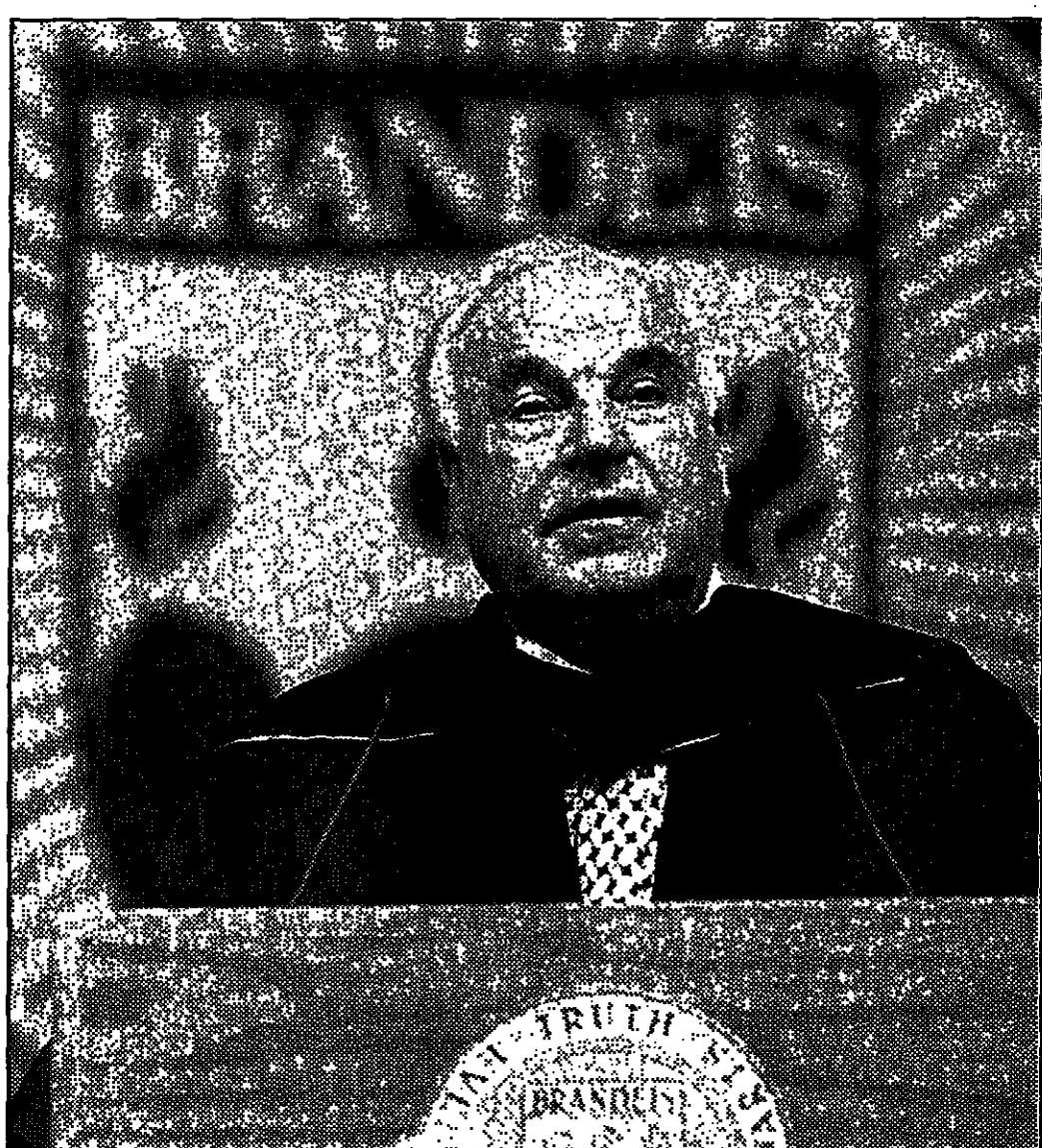
destruction of Israel. Gingrich "intends to get Arafat to explain exactly what he means," Deutsch said.

Gingrich, speaking before a meeting of the delegation with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, made clear what he thinks of US pressure on Israel: "We are here to learn, we are to help the peace process in which Israel defines its own security needs, and [to see that] at the end of that process Israel is able to sur-

vive with a sense of peace and security," Gingrich said.

Deutsch said that Gingrich, not a consensus figure in the American political scene, has "across the board support among the delegates against pressure on Israel."

On the Middle East, said Deutsch, Gingrich is "an insightful and forceful speaker. It is interesting that in the meetings, so many democrats, who don't generally support the speaker, are doing so. I put myself in that category."



Kohl at Brandeis

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl delivers the commencement address yesterday at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, which also awarded him an honorary doctorate. In his address, he said a "Marshall Plan" for the Middle East could help secure peace in the region. "Germany is Israel's most faithful friend and advocate after the United States. And it will stay that way," Kohl added. *(Reuters)*

Coalition decides to boycott no-confidence motion today

By LIAT COLLINS

Deputy Defense Minister Silvan Shalom, who liaises between the cabinet and the Knesset, said yesterday that ministers and coalition MKs will boycott today's planned no-confidence motions.

They are protesting the opposition's refusal to reschedule the motions to next week, when the prime minister will have returned from his official trip to China.

The no-confidence motions by the Labor and Hadash parties, with Meretz, are on the stalemate in the peace process.

"The coalition has decided to allow the opposition alone to make a mockery of the Knesset plenum with its ridiculous motions," Shalom said.

Labor whip Elie Goldschmidt said his party intends to raise its no-confidence motion anyway, since even when Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is in the country he does not personally answer

the motions and is usually not even present for the debate.

Shalom described the opposition's stand as "breaking a long-standing parliamentary tradition that no-confidence votes are not held when the prime minister is out of the country on official, state business."

Shalom said the coalition had refrained from taking any measures against the opposition until now despite "the ridiculous motions the opposition raises almost every week."

He said that the opposition does not have a chance of gaining the necessary 61 votes to topple the government.

Goldschmidt said the motions would probably go ahead, however.

"Netanyahu has not personally answered a single no-confidence motion filed against him in the two years he has been in power, even when he has been in his office a few meters away from the Knesset. Furthermore, he hasn't even both-

ered to listen to the speeches. Yitzhak Rabin, in comparison, personally answered eight no-confidence motions filed against his government."

"If Netanyahu scorns the Knesset, Labor sees itself as exempt from taking into consideration his trips abroad. Netanyahu prefers that his ministers and coalition members aren't in the plenum to see the widening cracks among the coalition [some of whom might not vote against the no-confidence motions] and expose these cracks for all to see, even if it is at the price of scorning Israel's legislative arm."

A spokesman for Hadash said his party had submitted no-confidence motions in the past when the prime minister was absent "and would continue to do so in the future on both diplomatic and social issues."

"It makes no difference that he is abroad on official business because his trips are fruitless in any case," the spokesman said.

Labor campaign seeks to lay blame on PM for demise of peace process

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Labor leaders yesterday launched a public campaign to lay the blame for the demise of the peace process at Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's door.

"The time for ambiguity is over," said MK Efraim Sneh, among those who attended the first meeting of a new leadership forum that Labor leader Ehud Barak plans to convene every Sunday.

Yesterday's meeting focused on Netanyahu's statements to foreign diplomats Friday including an assertion that "peace collapsed two years ago" during a wave of suicide bombings.

In addition to Sneh, the session was attended, among others, by MKs Shimon Peres, Ori Orr, Avraham Shohat, Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, Nissim Zivili, Dalila Itzik and Haim Ramon.

Sneh warned of an approaching

"military and diplomatic catastrophe."

"There will be a war in the territories, there will be victims, and Israel will find itself more isolated than ever, and even alienated from the Americans," he said.

"Bibi is right, the peace process is dead," he added. "Because for two years we've had a government which doesn't want it."

The Labor leaders decided to step up the party's street activity, as part of the information campaign.

The party will hold protest vigils outside the homes of "fluctuating" ministers and MKs, who declared they would quit if Netanyahu fails to implement the second pullback.

These include Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, Yisrael Ba'aliya leaders and Shas MKs.

Certain MKs referred to critical

articles about Barak in the weekend newspapers, thereby hinting to Barak it was time for him to demonstrate leadership both inside the party and on the national level.

Earlier in the day, the storm following Netanyahu's Friday remarks continued.

Uri Savir, former foreign ministry director-general, said the attacks against the peace process and those who brought it about remind him of the incident against Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin before he was murdered.

Those attacking the process "suffer from a complete misunderstanding of the Oslo process. Rabin and Peres's intention was to form a coalition of the Arab world and ourselves against the fundamentalist movements. Thus we ended the intifada, thus we put a stop to the PLO terrorism, and forged relationships with Jordan and a dozen Arab states."

Golan homes offered at bargain prices

By DAVID RUDGE

A housing campaign opens today on the Golan Heights with 380 new homes going on sale in 14 communities there.

Golan Regional Council chairman Yehuda Wolman said in a statement that the housing program was part of the ongoing development of the region.

The new homes are being offered at what appears to be bargain prices, compared to other parts of the country.

A 60-to-70 sq. m. ground floor house on a plot of land covering half a dunam is costing between NIS 170,000 to NIS 190,000. Financial assistance is available in the form of loans and grants that could cover up to 95 percent of the price.

Around 200 such homes are part of the campaign. They can

all be expanded to up to 220 sq. m.

In four communities, buyers will be able to choose one of four types of homes ranging in size from 110 sq. m. to 170 sq. m. for up to \$110,000.

The houses are in 14 villages, moshavim, and religious communities on the Golan.

Organizers are hoping to attract newcomers who will invest in the region or set up small businesses and light industry.

Wolman told Israel Radio the subsidies were aimed at changing the demographic balance in the region where more than 15,000 Israelis and 18,000 Druse live.

"Of course, we ask from time to time for government aid, to create a different demographic situation on the Golan Heights," he said.

TUNNELS

Continued from Page 1

The source said Hamas did not officially participate in the Nakba march and the organization is in a "waiting position" regarding terrorist attacks against Israel. He said a final decision will be the result of consultation between Hamas leaders inside and outside the territories, particularly Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.

Yassin has deceived Israelis and PA officials, the source said, by asking for permission to obtain medical help abroad and using his trip to raise funds, coordinate with Hamas and Islamic leaders and warn of attacks on Israel.

The source said the government will have to decide whether to allow Yassin to return to Gaza. "Sheikh Yassin is not merely a symbol or spokesman and he didn't stop his activities," the source said. "At this point there is a general and perhaps fuzzy green light for terrorism. There certainly is no red-light against it."

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Festivities, traffic and 20,000 marchers

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

As the sun shone down on Jerusalem yesterday, thousands of people lined the streets to watch the Jerusalem Jubilee March marking 50 years since Jerusalem became Israel's capital and 31 years since the capital's reunification.

Shortly before some 20,000 marchers set out from the capital's Kikar Safra to walk through the center of town and on to Gan Sacher, traffic was rerouted, roads closed off and a festive feeling filled the air. Policemen and border policemen were out in full force, safeguarding the marchers' route as colorful flags of the Jerusalem Municipality, Israel and the jubilee fluttered in the breeze.

Around 3:00 residents began to line Bezael Road, the last leg of the parade route. Scores of soldiers, some wearing colored jubilee T-shirts, walked into the center of the city to join their units in the march.

Loudspeakers hooked up to lampposts along the road played Hebrew music and at 3:15 trumpets blared as the marchers set out from Kikar Safra.

Locals sat out on verandahs, leaning over the rails seeking a better view. People gathered along the roadside, some sat on the pavement, others, seeking shade, propped themselves up against the walls of buildings.

Other residents seemed oblivious of the day's events as they hurried home, shopping bags in hand. Drivers, however, couldn't forget the parade, as they got stuck in traffic jams all over the city.

Several residents from the Nahalot neighborhood set up collapsible chairs on the sidewalk and sat in comfort, holding a bag of sunflower seeds in one hand and a cold drink in the other. Children's faces turned blue and red as they sucked on ice pops and waited for the show to arrive.

IDF Military Police on motorcycles led the march, with some of Egged's first buses following close behind, including an



A woman stuffs candy in the pocket of a paratrooper marching in the Jerusalem Day parade yesterday.

(Bryan McBarney)

armored bus that served Jerusalem and a green and yellow bus that travelled the Tel Aviv-Rishon LeZion line. Children pointed excitedly at the buses and one little boy asked his father, "Did you ride in that?" Nearby, someone yelled out, "Hey, I remember riding in a bus like that as a boy!"

The Egged convoy was followed by veterans of the War of Independence who waved to the cheering crowd.

Meanwhile, at the NaturalLook salon, the proprietor wheeled his customers outside to ensure that

no one missed the march. He dabbed a client's hair with color while another, with her hair draped in a towel, clapped as hundreds of soldiers marched by.

A group of Bnei Akiva clapped loudly as the paratroopers passed. The wounded IDF war veterans received a large round of applause from the crowd as they paraded down the road, some in wheelchairs, others on foot.

Young children stood in awe as columns of IDF soldiers marched down the road. Several children walked beside them imitating their

march, and a little girl offered a soldier chewing gum.

For several hours citizens from around the country gathered in the capital and forgot about politics, religious differences and over-drawn bank accounts to salute Jerusalem.

As the parade drew to a close at Gan Sacher, shopkeepers hundreds of meters away in Mahaneh Yehuda began to reopen their shops and prepare for the surge of shoppers that would arrive as the capital's streets reopened and life returned to normal.

IDF, Palestinians clash in capital

By STEVE RODAN and MOHAMMED NAJIB

The Palestinian Authority responded yesterday to Israel's Jerusalem Day celebrations with violent clashes against IDF troops and threats that Palestinians will not agree to peace as long as Jerusalem is not their capital.

"Jerusalem is a part of Palestinian land occupied in 1967," PA Chairman Yasser Arafat told reporters upon his return to Gaza from Cairo. "It should be known that Jerusalem is part of our occupied land in 1967, and this includes east Jerusalem."

Palestinian Legislative Council speaker Ahmed Qurei, known as Abu Ala, agreed.

"There will not be peace as long as Jerusalem is under Israeli occupation," he said.

PA officials had warned in radio and television broadcasts that the Jerusalem Day celebrations would include what they termed a "provocative raid by settlers" on the Temple Mount. They called on Palestinians to defend Al-Aksa mosque. PLC member Hatem Abdul Khader warned that any "Jewish extremist who enters the holy mosque will not stay alive."

The IDF increased security at checkpoints at the entrances to Jerusalem yesterday.

In Bethlehem, 17 Palestinians

were wounded at an IDF checkpoint, the Wafa news agency reported. The agency said one Palestinian, Ziada Ziada, 21, was wounded by a rubber bullet that struck his head.

Palestinian eyewitnesses said the clashes began when Israeli soldiers prevented some Arab laborers from bypassing the Gilo checkpoint and entering Jerusalem - a routine by which thousands of Palestinians are estimated to enter the city illegally. The eyewitnesses said Israeli soldiers called on the laborers to return to Bethlehem and, when the Palestinians ignored the warning, fired rubber bullets.

IDF sources said the Palestinians were told that they could not enter because of Jerusalem Day. When the laborers tried to push their way past, the soldiers responded with force. The Palestinians then hurled rocks and bottles at the soldiers and they responded with tear gas and rubber bullets.

The shooting was followed by clashes near Rachel's Tomb as the IDF brought in reinforcements. According to Palestinian sources, one of those struck by a rubber bullet was Hazem Kader, a freelance television cameraman for the Associated Press. However, eyewitnesses said he later arrived uninjured at the AP offices in Jerusalem.



Schoolgirls wander through the trenches at Ammunition Hill yesterday.

(Brian Hendler)

PALESTINIAN PRESS REVIEW

By MICHAEL SELA

The peace process

While the High Court of Justice was hearing petitions against the shaking of Palestinian security prisoners, a cartoon in *Al-Quds* shows a Palestinian prisoner behind bars shouting "Shake him!" at a Palestinian who is puzzled about Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's redeployment intentions.

Evaluating the American threat to quit its involvement in the peace process, an *Al-Quds* editorial ironically if there is any difference between the US willingly withdrawing from any involvement and its inability to act because of the

intensive Israeli pressures?

Hassan Bakr in *Al-Quds* concludes that "as long" as the Palestinians insist on declaring a state, and as long as Israel continues to expand the settlements, steal water and ignore the Syrian and Lebanese channels of negotiations, the region will continue to witness a violent struggle.

A Palestinian diplomatic move is needed right now, to exercise pressure on Israel to fulfill its commitments, writes Bakr.

The message of the 'Nakba' A senior Fida member and one of the founders of "the united national

leadership" of the intifada, Jamal Zakkut, considers the Nakba marches a message.

"The march was the Palestinian answer to the Zionists, who claim that Palestine is a land without a people for a people without a land," writes Zakkut in *Al-Ayyam*.

"All parts of the people - men and women...in Galilee, the Negev and the refugee camps in South Lebanon...stood together carrying one message, which continues the intifada's message: The Palestinian people is alive and will not accept a solution that is less than a guarantee for its return and independence. It is a message against the dou-

ble-standard policy of the US," he continues. "The Palestinian problem is not a matter of 9 or 13 percent, but a problem of a people and rights." It is a message to Netanyahu, "who will face the popular anger and the fire of the intifada, if he burns the Oslo agreement." It is also a message to the Israeli peace camp, "which has a historical responsibility, first, to recognize the offense committed against the Palestinians."

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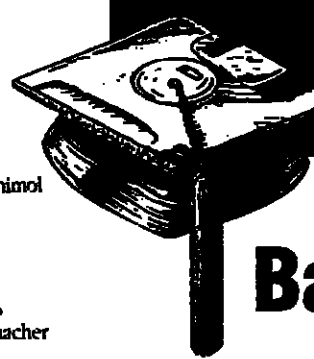
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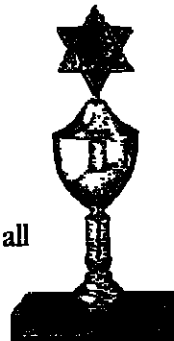


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Competition website: http://www.biu.ac.il/Jewish_Identity/K12_Competi

Lebanon holds first local elections since '63 IAF hits Hizbullah targets north of security zone

By MICHAEL GEORGY

BEIRUT (Reuters) - Lebanese voters headed to polling stations in the first phase of elections which include hardline Christian and Muslim groups in a land still trying to bury lingering animosities from a 15-year-long sectarian civil war.

Armored personnel carriers mounted with machine guns were stationed at key intersections. Troops were on alert and cars were closely searched.

Polling stations closed their doors at 5 p.m., an interior ministry source said. Counting of the votes was expected to end late yesterday or today.

Interior Minister Michel Murr, speaking just before polling stations closed, told reporters that the first round of elections went smoothly, without security problems.

"The elections were fair and democratic and there was no interference from the government, the army or polling station supervisors. The state was neutral," he said.

Prime Minister Rafik Hariri has urged voters to elect candidates based on their qualifications, not

political affiliations. But complicated political alliances were formed in the weeks before the elections, and Beirut newspapers have predicted fierce battles in the polls. The Hizbullah, for instance, is facing an alliance between its rival, Amal, and pro-government candidates. That race will take place in the mainly Shi'ite southern suburbs of Beirut, a Hizbullah stronghold.

Hours after voting started yesterday, tensions mounted between Hizbullah and Amal in the southern suburbs and shots were fired in the air. A security source said there were no casualties and the army had prevented a serious clash.

Four people were wounded this month in clashes between Amal and Hizbullah, prompting army troops to move in quickly and restore order in an incident linked to pre-election tensions.

Right-wing Christian opposition groups that boycotted parliamentary elections in 1992 and 1996 are fielding candidates in the municipal contest. Their entry into the election arena for the first time since the end of the 1975-1990 civil war raised the political stakes.

The elections also are seen as a test of whether the Muslim and anti-Syrian Christian opposition



Police search voters in the Shiite Beirut suburb of Bourj el-Barajneh yesterday. (AP)

can make gains in a country dominated by three pro-Syrian leaders - Hariri, President Elias Hrawi and Parliament Speaker Nabih Berri.

"If you are not a relative or clan member of Hariri, Berri and Hrawi, you get nothing," said Emad Fadil, a 32-year-old grocer who complains high prices are keeping cus-

tomers away. "I will vote for Hizbullah because they help out. They have given water to households. We can't get to the top people [in government]."

Parliament voted last July to delay municipal council and mayoral elections, which were scheduled for June 1997, until April

1999. Analysts said the move was largely due to fears among leading politicians that the results would undermine their power.

The supreme court overturned the decision on an appeal from 14 opposition members of parliament, setting the stage for political uncertainty.

IAF hits Hizbullah targets north of security zone

By DAVID RUDGE

Lebanon. IAF warplanes twice struck at Hizbullah targets in the Jabal Rafiah region north of the security zone yesterday, as fighting in the region continued.

The IDF Spokesman said on both occasions the pilots reported accurate hits on the targets and that all the planes returned safely to their bases.

Reports from Lebanon said that the planes fired four missiles at targets in the area. There were no immediate reports of any casualties. The reports said it was the 45th air strike in Lebanon this year.

The air raid follows the deaths of two South Lebanese Army soldiers in a roadside bomb explosion in the Soujoud region, in the eastern sector of the zone, on Saturday.

Israel, meanwhile, has lodged two further complaints with the Grapes of Wrath monitoring group over breaches of the understandings in recent fighting in south

The complaints relate to the wounding of two civilians as a result of mortar fire from Lebanese territory on Rehan village in the security zone early Friday, and over firing from the outskirts of Mansuri village, north of the zone, on Saturday.

Israel already has protested to the monitoring group over the killing of a civilian in an Hizbullah roadside bomb attack at the Huneh crossing point on the northern perimeter of the zone last Tuesday.

The five-nation committee, set up to supervise the understandings reached at the end of Operation Grapes of Wrath in April 1996, is due to convene at UNFICIL's headquarters in Nakoura tomorrow to discuss the complaints.

Fighting continued yesterday with reports of long-range mortar attacks on SLA positions in the eastern sector of the zone.

There were no casualties and IDF gunners returned fire.

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TRAVELLING TO ISRAEL

BGU president Avishay Braverman Beersheba needs special A+ status

By JUDY SIEGEL

The Beersheba area should be granted A+ development area status to help transform the Negev from a high unemployment area into a high-tech paradise, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev president Avishay Braverman said in a message to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

This status grants benefits and incentives to residents and businesses. Braverman, marking the opening of the annual BGU Board of Governors meeting, said the university can be the focus for the establishment of basic infrastructure for high-tech industry.

BGU itself is investing an unprecedented \$100 million for these purposes, he added, but this is not enough.

"The government must change the situation in which only the center of the country gets full attention: the future belongs to Beersheba and the south, where there are major risks but also major opportunities," Braverman said.

BGU recently began to study a program to double the number of graduates in high-tech fields to produce much-needed qualified manpower for industry. It has proposed to the Council for Higher Education a special computer studies curriculum that offers work in high-tech industry at the end of the student's



Ben-Gurion University president Avishay Braverman

first year of studies. The country's youngest university is in the midst of unprecedented

development, both physical and academic, that includes 15 buildings under construction at a cost of \$100 million.

A new department for government and politics will open during the next academic year.

The Council for Higher Education is also considering requests for new programs, including master's degrees in desert sciences, in State of Israel studies, advanced telecommunications, electro-optics, environmental engineering, social work and science teaching.

During the last eight years, Braverman said, BGU has more than doubled its student body to 13,843, with a 12% increase just last year.

Another judge receives death threat

By Jerusalem Post Staff and Itim

Judge Bracha Samson received a death threat on Saturday night from a man who blamed her for putting his brother in prison.

Rosh Pina police traced the threatening phone call and expect to arrest the perpetrator soon.

"I'm not afraid, but the police must investigate this matter," Samson said.

Tel Aviv Judge Nira Lidsky, who has been threatened several times, was believed to be the target of a firebomb last week and several other judges have received death threats recently. A firebomb was

thrown at Lidsky's neighbor's home, which often is mistaken for hers. Judge Edna Kaplan has also been threatened.

The threats against and attacks on judges are intolerable, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said during yesterday's cabinet meeting, adding that the government will use all means at its disposal to end this phenomena.

Citizens for Good Government asked Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani to put more emphasis on protecting judges. The wave of threats and attacks weakens the government and endangers the rule of law, the

organization said.

Samson was appointed to the magistrate's courts in Kiryat Shmona and Safed a year ago, after working as a lawyer in Haifa for many years.

Meanwhile, three suspects in the murder of Prisons Service official Dr. Ya'acov Zigelboim were released to house arrest for five days yesterday, after police could not present strong proof of their involvement.

The three are followers of cult leader Uzi Meshulam, who is serving a prison sentence for endangering lives, conspiracy, aggravated assault and other charges.

Vintage car rally sets off on fund-raising tour

By DAVID RUDGE

Nostalgia was the rule of the road yesterday as a vintage car rally set off from Haifa on the first stage of a round the country fund-raising tour.

Some 27 vehicles, ranging from a 1928 Ford to a futuristic Jaguar, are taking part in the rally which is aimed at raising money to construct new water reservoirs in the Negev.

The vintage models and their owners arrived aboard a ferry at the Haifa port yesterday after previously completing a 5,000 kilometer journey across Europe from London.

The participants were greeted at the port's passenger terminal by Haifa mayor Amram Mitzna and senior officials of the Jewish National Fund, which is organizing the event with the JNF's London branch.

"I'm very happy that the beginning of the rally (in Israel) is here in Haifa which is the sea gate to Israel," said Mitzna at the reception.

The vehicles, which also include such classic cars as a 1957 Bentley and a Rolls Royce, left Haifa around 9 a.m., bound for Rosh Hanikra. They were joined by Israeli vintage car enthusiasts bringing the number of vehicles in the motorcade to around 50.

The rally will pass through Kiryat Shmona, Tiberias, Beit She'an, the Dead Sea, and Jerusalem before reaching its final destination in Ashdod on Thursday.

JNF director-general Yitzhak



David Jacob (foreground) and Gerald Benjamin of Sheffield, England are greeted in Haifa port yesterday after arriving with their 1967 Morris Minor from a cross-European drive. They are participating with 26 other vintage cars and crews in a JNF benefit rally.

Elyashiv said that the participants are all car enthusiasts who identify with Israel and the JNF.

The rally is being sponsored by donors in England on the basis of a certain sum of money for every

kilometer the cars complete. Elyashiv hopes that the vintage car rally will raise around

£150,000 pounds which would be used to build two or three new reservoirs in the Negev.

Soroka doctor wins European prize for work on heart-lung surgery

By JUDY SIEGEL

The chief of anesthesiology at Soroka Hospital has won the prestigious first prize at the annual convention of the European Association of Anesthesiology for his pioneering discovery relating to surgical patients attached to heart-lung machines.

Dr. Leonid Roitblit's work was one of six finalists from among 1,063 projects sent to the conference, which took place in Barcelona last month. Forty per-

cent of the projects were rejected even before the competition was held.

Roitblit's important discovery involved anesthesia during the open-heart operation, which today is a very common type of surgery.

He found that attaching a patient to a heart-lung machine, to fill in for his respiratory and cardiac functions, causes an inflammatory reaction and may lead to post-surgical complications.

To deal with this, he and his

team suggested using the drug katamnia, which reduces the inflammatory reaction.

This, according to the Beersheba hospital, was the first piece of work on the subject.

Roitblit's findings were regarded as so important that the conference set up a special Internet site on his work.

The contest winners were presented before all the participants in the conference, the mayor of Barcelona and the health minister of Spain.

Tomorrow at the festival

By HELEN KAYE

Jerusalem Theater
Sherover - Habimah, The Dybbuk, 8:30 p.m.
[free events in foyer and plaza from tomorrow]

ICC (Binyanei Ha'uma) - Concertgebouw orchestra, 8:30 p.m.
Gerard Behar - Momix,

Baseball, 8:30 p.m.
Sultan's Pool - Naomi Shemer tribute, 8:30 p.m.
Noga Tel Aviv - Tango por Dos, *Perfumes of Tango*, 9 p.m.

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Guests of Honor: Limor Livnat, Communications Minister
Hanan Ahsaf, President, Motorola Israel
Chairman: Zvi Alon, President, NetManage, Inc.

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Reform pressure mounts on Indonesia's Habibie

Suharto-era political prisoners demand new president order their release 'as soon as possible'

By MICHAEL BATTYE

JAKARTA (Reuters) — New Indonesian President Jusuf Habibie came under intense pressure at home and abroad yesterday to produce a reform plan that would unlock IMF coffers and resume the aid his country so desperately needs.

Much of it came from Canada, where finance ministers of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum were meeting.

The IMF, which put together a \$41.2 billion rescue package in return for radical reforms to haul Indonesia out of its worst economic crisis in decades, said it was in no hurry to resume lending.

IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus told the ministers a review of Indonesia's political situation was needed first.

"What struck me was how broad-based the view was that those economic reform programmes will only work in the context of a political situation that's working," said US Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin at the end of the session's first day.

At home, Habibie has won some time, but how much was far from clear.

Students who spearheaded three months of protests which ended in the downfall of president Suharto on Thursday shuffled off home, saying they would resume their movement if Habibie did not move to meet their demands for reform.

Political prisoners demanded yesterday that Habibie free them

soon and without conditions. "The government should declare as free as soon as possible all political prisoners," Sri Bintang Pampang said in a statement on behalf of several dozen prominent political prisoners in Jakarta's Cipinang jail.

Sri Bintang, reading the statement in a room in the jail packed with relatives and reporters, said the political prisoners did not want amnesty.

"We strongly refuse the use of the word amnesty," he said. "The correct word should be 'freed from any conditions at all' as freedom is really our right," he said, calling former president Suharto "the greatest dictator of all time."

Meanwhile, powerful armed forces chief General Wiranto made it clear he was firmly behind Habibie and effectively exiled Suharto's son-in-law, Lieutenant-General Prabowo Subianto, from the capital, stripping him of a critical command and hustling him off to staff college.

Ordinary people seemed simply relieved to be able to resume a normal life after student protests erupted into bloody riots and a political crisis that culminated in Suharto making a dramatic resignation announcement on Thursday.

But Habibie, who so far has made only vague promises on reform, seemed likely to face demands to act from one of his most important ministers when his cabinet meets for the first time today.

Top economics minister Ginandjar Kartasasmita, the man



International Monetary Fund's managing director Michel Camdessus at the Asia-Pacific finance ministers' weekend summit in Kananaskis, Alberta, Canada. Camdessus said it would be premature to resume IMF disbursements to Indonesia before its political situation was reviewed.

charged with fixing an economy near collapse, said on Saturday his job could only be done hand-in-hand with political reform.

And that meant it was "imperative" general elections were held as soon as possible, he told a news conference in comments he almost

certainly could not have made if the autocratic Suharto had still been in power.

"One thing is for sure, we need to have a new government with a new mandate from the people and the new mandate is given through general elections, so it is very

important that we have a general election as soon as possible," he said.

Ginandjar's importance was reflected in the swift expressions of pleasure at his re-appointment from critical aid donors like the IMF, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Habibie's unofficial spokeswoman has pleaded to the world to give him time to tackle a "gigantic task" in a country where the rupiah has lost 80 percent of its value against the dollar since July and inflation and unemployment are soaring.

"There should be a calming down period in which we allow this government to do what it has promised to do," Dewi Fortuna Anwar said.

"I think the most important thing is that the international community does try to give a vote of confidence to this government and does not prolong delays in the financial assistance that Indonesia so badly needs."

The IMF's top Asia expert, Hubert Neiss, is due in Jakarta tomorrow to meet Habibie and review events, but the IMF has postponed a June 4 meeting scheduled to approve another desperately needed \$1 billion to Indonesia.

There was also pressure on Habibie from a Moslem organisation which said it would stage a major protest for reform.

The Moslem Nahdlatul Ulama organisation said it would put 200,000 people on the streets of Surabaya, Indonesia's second city, on Tuesday to demand Habibie implement reform.

Basques see model in N. Irish pact

By MATT SPETALNICK

MADRID (Reuters) — Basque politicians expressed hope that Northern Ireland's overwhelming endorsement Saturday of a landmark peace accord could serve as a model for ending decades of separatist violence in Spain's Basque country.

Basque nationalists called on the Spanish government to follow the example of British Prime Minister Tony Blair and seek a negotiated solution to Spain's

bloodiest regional conflict, which has claimed more than 800 lives in three decades.

Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar has steadfastly refused to hold talks with the outlawed Basque terror group ETA or anyone representing them until the rebels renounce killing and lay down their arms.

Nevertheless, both mainstream and radical nationalists alike hailed the Northern Ireland vote on Saturday as proof that a Basque political dialogue without

conditions is the only viable path to peace.

Herri Batasuna, ETA's legal political wing, predicted that the outcome of the referendum — in which over 71 percent voted "Yes" — would open the public's eyes to the urgent need for a negotiated settlement.

But Joseba Permach, a member of Herri Batasuna's executive committee, told reporters a peace process for the Basque Country "requires political will [on the part of the government] and that

unfortunately does not exist here."

Most leaders agreed the crucial factor in Northern Ireland was representation at the bargaining table for all parties to the conflict. "There is a lesson to be learned from the results [of the referendum]," said Inaki Anasagasti, spokesman for the Basque Nationalist Party, a moderate force in the region's politics.

"What we must have is the same kind of process under which the British and the Irish, Conservatives and Laborites...have all agreed to work together for peace," he told Reuters.

Javier Medrano, general coordinator of the Basque branch of the United Left coalition, said it was time for the Basque people "to demand once and for all democratic and negotiated solutions."

Moderate Basque nationalists have consistently called on ETA to emulate the Irish Republican Army and declare a cease-fire. An IRA truce which went into effect last July paved the way for talks that led to a peace agreement.

ETA said late last month that it was "ready to learn" from the example of the peace accord reached on April 10 in Belfast.

But only days after the release of ETA's communiqué, a town councillor and a retired Civil Guard officer were assassinated in attacks blamed on the terrorists.

Aznar responded by vowing to stick to his hard-line policy against ETA, saying "peace at any price is a tempting but tragic option."

Following approval of treaty Irish Americans optimistic about prospects of peace

By ALEXIS CHU

BOSTON (AP) — An ocean away from the historic referendum creating a new government in Northern Ireland, many Irish Americans have cast their own unofficial votes for peace.

"It's going to change everything," said Bernadette Murphy, editor of the *Irish Emigrant*, a weekly Boston newspaper. "We feel like this is a fantastic opportunity for peace finally to come to Northern Ireland."

News of Friday's overwhelming "yes" vote for the April 10 peace accord had spread through the city's large Irish-American population before all the ballots were counted.

Like many interviewed on Saturday, Murphy — an American whose parents are from the Republic of Ireland — approached news of the vote with a mixture of joyful surprise and cautious optimism.

"We're not out of the woods yet, but we're optimistic about the future for the first time in decades," Murphy said. "For a long time, people have been feeling very unsettled and hopeless about the situation."

In Shenanigan's pub in the city's largely Irish-Catholic South Boston neighborhood, people who grew up part of Northern Ireland's Catholic minority rubbed elbows with Irish Americans who only

had vacationed on the island. Most agreed the peace accord is a step in the right direction.

"It's time for peace," said Dennis Mawn, 29, of Norwood. "It's a good thing."

Across the smoky barroom, Barry Hughes of Northern Ireland recalled growing up Catholic in a largely Protestant neighborhood in Armagh, where he still lives.

Hughes, 43, voted "yes" for the accord by proxy because he was traveling in America. Though he has felt the sting of discrimination — his parents recently had to move after 50 years in the neighborhood after someone lobbed a firebomb at their home — he describes himself as a moderate who wants peace more than revenge.

"All we want is to be able to go down to the bar and have a drink without someone coming in and shooting," he said. "All we want is peace." Boston's Irish population in the last census, taken in 1990, totaled 106,586 out of a total population of 574,283. In the city's South Boston neighborhood the Irish numbered 14,627 out of 29,495.

US President Bill Clinton rejoiced over the vote outcome and pledged US help in bringing jobs, factories and schools to help peace take root.

"It is the culmination of a springtime of peace, and it must be the beginning of a long season

of happiness and prosperity," Clinton said in an audiotaped message to the Irish people.

The area's politicians, many of whom actively worked on the peace process, also registered their satisfaction on Saturday.

Though he warned there will be difficulties ahead, US Sen. Edward Kennedy said, "The outcome is a resounding victory that brings the reality of peace significantly closer for all the people of Ireland, North and South."

US Rep. Richard E. Neal in 1994 became the first member of Congress to visit Northern Ireland after the historic Irish Republican Army cease fire. He credited Clinton with starting the peace process by making Northern Ireland an international matter.

"You cannot overstate the significance of this day," Neal said. "All the people on the island of Ireland had the opportunity yesterday to vote for a common destiny... (and) it is certain they have voted for a common future."

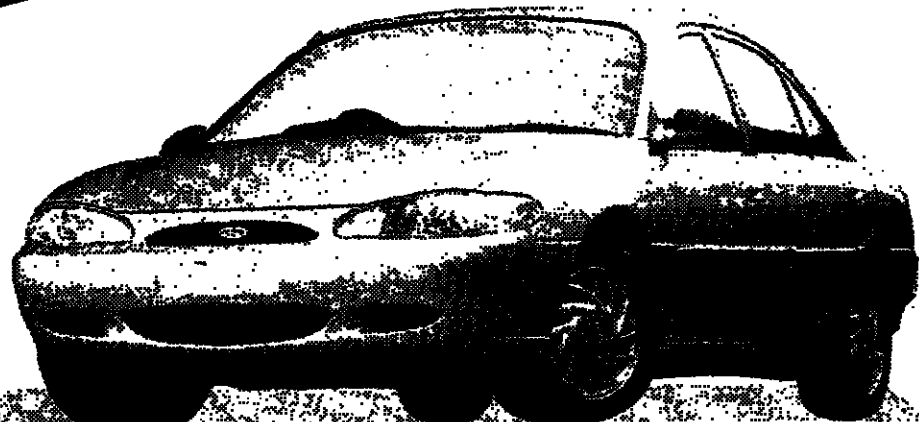
Another who emphasized the importance of US cooperation in reaching the agreement was Larry Downes, president of the US group Friends of Sinn Féin. "The US dimension to this was very important" in bringing both sides to the table, he told reporters at O'Neill's, an Irish pub in New York City. "Certainly this isn't the end game," he said. "It's only a step."

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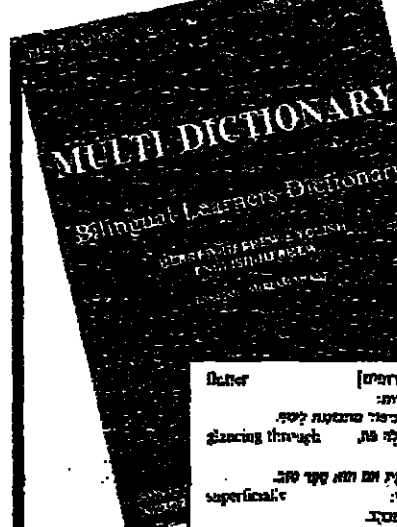
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Judgment Day US-style

Movie Review

By Adina Hoffman

DEEP IMPACT
★
Directed by Mimi Leder. Screenplay by Michael Tolkin and Bruce Joel Rubin. Hebrew title: *Pegia Kallanit*. 120 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance suggested.

With Robert Duvall, Tea Leoni, Morgan Freeman, Elijah Wood, Vanessa Redgrave and Maximilian Schell

But the movie is mostly a tremendous mess, with few clearly distinguished characters, a jerky story line and enough sanctimonious God-and-country sentimentality to set your teeth on edge. Director Mimi Leder and her handlers at the new DreamWorks Studio have also thrown in a few wow-me-zow-me computerized effects, but this crowd-pleasing gesture — like the film's canned humanism itself — feels too calculating (and looks far too phony) to be effective.

This is kitsch on a monumental scale, kitsch that's designed to appeal both to action-movie buffs

and those who want more warm and fuzzy feeling from their pictures. It's unlikely, though, to satisfy either target group.

For all its genre-busting pretensions, *Deep Impact* offers the worst of both worlds: action-movie emptiness without the format's exciting tempo and motion, and lots of teary true-confessions and climactic final partings without the intelligence or sustained emotion of honest character drama.

Screenwriters Michael Tolkin and Bruce Joel Rubin do the usual paint-by-numbers routine and populate their apocalypse with a wide cross-section of ordinary folks — Americans, of course. (Though *Deep Impact* is basically liberal in its thrust, the filmmakers follow the isolationist lead set by the creators of *Independence Day* and assume that the Final Judgment will mostly take place Stateside.)

But the writers are very lazy. Of the large cast, the single characters with any depth at all are an ambitious TV reporter (Tea Leoni, icy and intriguing) who first stumbles onto the story of the Mount Everest-sized comet hurtling toward earth, and the president of the United States, played by Morgan Freeman. The latter, it bears saying, is only compelling because the veteran actor brings his usual world-weary intelligence to the role: as scripted, it's utter cardboard. Meanwhile, Robert Duvall tries his hardest with the part of a crusty former astronaut who comes out of retirement to try to rescue the planet with the help of a spacecraft called *The Messiah*. This character is such an uninspired stock type, however, that even a pro like Duvall is left flailing.

Tolkin's presence here is particularly perplexing, since his screenplay for Robert Altman's *The Player* took shape as a scathing indictment of the mentality behind just this brand of big, dumb, self-important Hollywood flick. (If you can't beat 'em, join 'em?) Of course, Leder herself deserves much of the blame: the "woman's touch" that distinguished her last first feature, *The Peacemaker*, is reduced to transparent pandering here. *Deep Impact* is indeed kinder and gentler than the average summertime blow-out, but that doesn't make it any good.



A former astronaut (Robert Duvall) comes out of retirement to try and rescue the planet.

Handel & humorous at Abu Ghosh

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

It's that time of year again, when humous and Bach go hand in hand at Israel's most exciting music festival — the Abu Ghosh Vocal Music Festival.

The charm of the locale, the splendor of the local church, replete with its gorgeous acoustics, are a given. The huge audience flocking to the festival and the village — where you can get the best humous in Israel — are also known facts by now. What differs from one rendition of this festival to the next (the festival is a biannual affair every Shavuot and Sukkot) is the program.

The upcoming festival (12 concerts from Friday to Sunday under the music directorship of Yuval ben-Ozer) features some great choral works such as the rarely performed *Durufle Requiem*, written about 50 years ago yet very much a Romantic opus even today. English counterpointer James Bowman performs arias and duets with Handel and his contemporaries with the Jerusalem Baroque Orchestra, while the Tel Aviv Chamber Choir under Michael Shani, who always brings little-known works to the festival, presents the Bruckner D minor requiem.

The popular sing-along tradition, usually associated with Handel's *Messiah*, is applied this time around to Mendelssohn's *Elijah*.

And there is much more, including the Mozart *Coronation Mass*, the Brahms *Deutsche Requiem* in its two piano versions with the always invigorating Ramat Gan Chamber Choir, and the John Eccles *Ode to Harmony*.

And for those for whom Abu Ghosh is not Abu Ghosh without their dose of Bach, there will be a performance of the St. John Passion.

The smaller Crusader Church will host more intimate programs, ranging from Italian madrigals to Elizabethan English music and even earlier works.

And, as usual, there will be plenty of outdoor musical activities to make the day in Abu Ghosh a truly memorable experience.

The Abu Ghosh Vocal Music Festival can move one step forward only if its budget increases substantially and it features first-rate visiting choral ensembles.

Beersheba Theater tackles sex abuse

By HELEN KAYE

The question, at last week's press conference, of whether Beersheba really needed a theater, astounded Dr. Razi Amitai. After all, said the sensation-hungry reporter playing devil's advocate, there was no lack of popular entertainment flooding into the city, including TV.

"This theater has been a part of the city's cultural landscape and a source of civic pride for more than 25 years," contends Amitai. "Moreover, it's also a creative focus for the area, even if much comes from the center [of the country]."

Under his stewardship, the Beersheba Theater's '98/99 season seeks to realize that contention and reflects Amitai's concern that "theater needs to reach all kinds of audiences from the Beduin, whom we hope will come to *Black Moon*, to those looking to be entertained with comedies like *Key for Two*."

Like Ofira Henig at the Jerusalem Khan, Amitai believes in theater with social and political consciousness, which the coming season of six new productions expresses. There are 50 percent Israeli plays, but the season opener in September is Paula Vogel's Pulitzer Prize-winning *How I Learned to Drive*, which takes on sexual abuse within the family. This is followed by Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, a coproduction with the Cameri Theater.

The three Israeli plays also reflect Amitai's concern with expanding creative forces at the theater. Author Yitzhak Gormanzo-Goren makes his theatrical debut with *License to Live*, a courtroom drama based on the evictions from Kfar Shalem which pits the dispossessed against the powerful.

Haim Idiss's *My Kinneret* is

also based on a factual event — the expulsion of Yemenite Jews from land near Tiberias at the turn of the century.

And responding to the fact that 34% of Beersheba's population today hails from the former USSR, the theater will produce, in Russian, Yosef Bar-Yosef's *The Orchard*.

Other productions in the lineup include Martin McDonagh's *The Cripple of Inishmaan*, his companion play to *The Beauty Queen of Leenane*, which is a hit at Beersheba and up for a passel of Tonys on Broadway; *Molly Sweeney*, another Irish play by Brian Friel; and two revivals of past successes — Peter Shaffer's *Equus* and yet a third play from the Emerald Isle, Sean O'Casey's immortal *Juno and the Paycock*.

With help from the municipality's education department, the theater is also reaching out to youth. To attract even greater audiences, it is introducing the flexitime concept to the performance schedule, such as noon shows on Friday.

There is also the Actor's Stage for actors to realize projects dear to their hearts, which will become part of the lineup if they're successful. These include *Danny and the Deep Blue Sea* and *The Caretaker*.

When Amitai inherited stewardship of the theater in 1996, there was a NIS 2.3 million deficit accumulated by Gadi Roll, the previous artistic director whose esoteric choices may have been theatrically fascinating but had kept the audience away in droves.

Today, thanks to tight fiscal policies and a more audience-friendly repertoire, the theater has balanced its books.

"The well-made play," says Amitai, "that's what gets audience response."



Local vocal jewels

Israeli soprano Raya Gonen, who resides in the US and has recently performed recitals in New York's Lincoln Center, has released a disc on the Centaur label entitled *Vocal Jewels from Israel*. On it, she performs, accompanied by Louis Menendez on the piano, 28 songs on Jewish themes, as well as Israeli folk songs by a vast array of Israeli composers. Michael Ajzenstadt

'Waking Ned' wins lottery at Cannes

By AMY WALLACE

The battle to buy the first commercial discovery of the 1998 Cannes International Film Festival began quietly enough.

No one had seen *Waking Ned*, a comedy made with no movie stars by a British first-time writer-director, before its first screening last Monday afternoon. The 33-year-old filmmaker, Kirk Jones, had just driven the print down from London — a 15-hour trip — because plane tickets were too expensive. He didn't even have any promotional posters.

"Cannes is so much about hype, but we just snuck in the back door," Jones said of his film.

Snuck in, that is, and took the place by storm.

On Tuesday, just 20 hours after distributors got their first look, Fox Searchlight bought the comedy, which chronicles what happens to a tiny Irish village when one of the residents wins the lottery. Said Lindsay Law, the president of Fox Searchlight, "I couldn't be more happy."

But the victory — won after a grueling, late-night competition during which several distributors made entreaties via cellular phones — did not come easy.

Sources said Fox beat out four other major distributors, one which offered to pay \$1 million over and above the price of the film just to secure exclusive negotiating rights. Artisan Entertainment, the newly renamed company that was Live Entertainment, was among those who lost out, having at one point put in a bid of \$3.5 million, sources said.

Trimark and October Films also were in the running.

That the deal was done in less than a day shows how swiftly business gets done in Cannes, where fierce rivalries force almost instantaneous decisions. That the battle was so pitched says something, moreover, about this year's festival, which features few "audience pleasers" that have not already been bought by distributors.

Before the festival began, Miramax bought two popular films in competition there — Todd Haynes's *Velvet Goldmine* and Roberto Benigni's *Life Is Beautiful*. Similarly, Todd Solondz's much talked about *Happiness* arrived in Cannes already represented by October.

So *Waking Ned*, which is not officially connected to the festival but is screening at the film market, was a welcome surprise.

Especially after word got around that it could be another *Full*

Monty — the British blockbuster, made for less than \$4 million, that has grossed \$247 million to date for Fox Searchlight.

Jones, a commercial director who lives in London, said he based his film on a tiny newspaper clipping about a postmistress in South Wales whose neighbors suspected she had won the lottery. "She put a sign in her window: 'No, I have not won.' I thought the idea of a small community dealing with a winner in their midst was compelling," Jones said.

So did Law, who first read the script two years ago, liked it very much but ultimately didn't buy it because, he said, "it had an underlying sweetness that I thought resembled too much another film we were making — which turned out to be *The Full Monty*."

The film was financed, in part, by pre-selling the distribution rights in France and Britain. The film commission from the Isle of Man, where the film was shot, also kicked in some money.

By happenstance, Law said, he found out that the film was screening for the first time in Cannes and made a point of showing up. He wasn't alone. Acquisitions folks from Trimark, Gramercy, Miramax, Fine Line and Polygram were also there.

The minute that first screening ended, the hustle began.

"You hope you'll see a movie like this," Law explained. "Then, you say, 'If I see this is wonderful, I won't be the only one.' Then, you panic."

Distributors beat a hasty path for the Noga Hilton, the headquarters of the Overseas Film Group, which was selling the film.

But the company's chairman, Robert Little, was out.

Little's cellular phone soon started ringing incessantly. Amir Malin, the co-president of Artisan, had had three scouts at the screening and on the basis of their enthusiasm, he tracked Little down.

The calls, Little recalled, "continued until 2:30 in the morning." By sunrise Tuesday, when people began gathering for breakfast in the cafes along the Croisette, there was a healthy buzz about *Waking Ned*. The top brass from October Films, who had not been represented on Monday, occupied the entire back row at Tuesday's screening.

Law said that the possibility of losing the film kept him awake all night. "I went to bed at 3 a.m. and lay there until 6, when I got up and ordered breakfast."

Tuesday's screening began at 11:30 a.m. Half an hour after it ended, the deal was done. (AP)

John Derek dies at 71

John Derek, the actor-director reputed to have been the force behind the meteoric career of his wife, Bo Derek, died Friday. He was 71.

With family members present, Derek died at 12:45 p.m., said Marian Medical Center spokeswoman Stephanie Grogan.

Derek, who had a history of heart trouble, was found unconscious at his Santa Ynez Valley home Wednesday afternoon and underwent lengthy heart surgery. Dr. Luke Faber said Derek had suffered a catastrophic problem with his aorta and heart.

The Hollywood-born Derek began as a movie actor in the 1940s, and despite roles in such notable films as *All the King's Men*, *The Ten Commandments* and *Exodus*, his acting career stalled

and he turned to still photography, film directing and producing.

He was best known for marrying beautiful actresses — French starlet Patti Behrs, Ursula Andress, Linda Evans and Bo Derek, who was a teenager named Mary Cathleen Collins when they met. They wed in 1974 after she turned 18.

His reputation as a Svengali stuck after she starred as the object of Dudley Moore's fantasies in Blake Edwards's 1979 film *10* and she became an instant sex symbol.

Derek was credited with masterminding her role, which created a rage for his wife's cornrow hairstyle and made "She's a 10" (i.e., she's perfect) part of the language.

He directed his wife in *Boyz n the City* and *Boyz n the Hood*. He also directed *The Ape Man* and *Ghost Can't Do It*, all of which she produced. (AP)

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Don't eulogize peace

Ops. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu did not mean to write off the peace process when he told a group of foreign diplomats that "peace collapsed two years ago."

Realizing that his remarks were being so interpreted, Netanyahu blitzed the media on Saturday night with reaffirmations of his commitment to the Oslo Accords. But this unfortunate retrogression into blaming the previous government has launched another fruitless round of the who-lost-the-peace debate.

Throughout his first year in office, Netanyahu felt compelled to explain Israel's increased isolation, as the scenes of Israeli leaders hobnobbing through much of the Arab world disappeared. It was, he said, a natural period of adjustment to a tougher negotiating position, in which Israel would not automatically continue withdrawing from territory while the Palestinians reneged on their commitments to combat terrorism.

By now, nearly two years into his term, Netanyahu has more or less succeeded in making the point that Oslo is a two-way street. It is no longer sufficient for the Palestinians to plead weakness to avoid fulfilling their side of the bargain — the principle has been established, if not yet implemented, that they, too, have responsibilities which must be fulfilled.

Until Friday's speech, it seemed that Netanyahu had implicitly recognized his victory in shifting the terms of the debate. Until Friday, it seemed that he had stopped blaming his difficulties on the Oslo Accords, on the need to adjust to Israel's newly chosen path, or on mistakes of the previous governments.

In other words, he had stopped sounding like a candidate for prime minister, and more like a serving one. Indeed, Netanyahu won the election because a majority of Israelis rejected Shimon Peres's approach to the peace process.

In response to Netanyahu's remarks on Friday, Peres justifiably called on Netanyahu to "stop blaming his predecessors."

Having said that, however, the opposition, almost inevitably, went even further and committed its own sins in the blame game.

Opposition leader Ehud Barak, for example, who normally is at pains to stress the need for Palestinian compliance, reportedly said "the responsibility for an explosion that might occur, rests on the shoulders of the government and its leader."

Barak's statement is unfair, and irresponsibly risks becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. As the tragic violence during the Palestinian Nakba protests indicated, deadly contact between the IDF and protesters only occurred where the Palestinian Police did not intervene to prevent

bloodshed. If there is widespread violence, it will be upon the signal of Yasser Arafat, and with the deliberate complicity, and perhaps participation, of the Palestinian Police.

On a more fundamental level, it is not reasonable to blame Israel's attempt to shift Oslo away from the failed confidence-building attempt towards demanding Palestinian compliance with their commitments. It is the Palestinians, not Israel, who decided to boycott the final-status talks that were scheduled to commence in May 1996. The talks, symbolically begun then under Peres, were never resumed after the elections, though Netanyahu has been pushing to resume them for some time.

Though hardly generous on Israel's part, neither the relatively modest "first redeployment" it offered, nor the launching of the Har Homa project in Jerusalem, were violations of Oslo. But the Palestinians were in any case in no position to expect generosity, given their own flagrant violations of the letter and the spirit of the accords.

The bargain that Netanyahu offered the Palestinians was essentially to go back to Oslo's original deal: some territory for a tentative peace, leading to an exchange of more territory for a final peace.

Netanyahu's problem has been that he has been trying to move goal posts on both ends — demanding more compliance from the Palestinians while offering less territory than they expected from the previous government.

While it is understandable that the Palestinians are not quietly accepting such changes, a tougher negotiating posture does not mean that Israel has opted out of the process, nor does it justify the Palestinians opting out through violence.

Given that Israel is now almost begging to begin final-status talks, and the argument is over a fraction of the interim withdrawals, the idea that the Palestinians have no choice but violence is simply not credible.

At the moment, there is a difficulty in traversing the final gaps between the parties. This task has been complicated by the fact that US has taken its own, very specific, position in the negotiations, despite its commitment to Israel that the exact scope of a redeployment is Israel's to determine. The result has been that the US has all but taken the place of the Palestinians as Israel's interlocutor in the negotiations.

Perhaps the US will learn not to put forward such detailed bridging proposals in the future, and Netanyahu will learn not to push for greater US involvement, under the false assumption that he can control the extent to which it will be to Israel's advantage.

Too secure

YOSEF GOELL

On Independence Day my wife and I wanted to visit the Israel Museum. Along with everyone else who had a similar idea, the police cordons forced us to park a very long distance away and walk up the hill to the museum.

When asked why, the police answered that it was part of the extreme security precautions being taken for the Jubilee Bells extravaganza scheduled for that evening in the Hebrew University stadium, over a kilometer away.

The security, I suspect, was not so much for the invited spectators and the performing artists as for Prime Minister Netanyahu and his guest, US Vice President Al Gore.

A day later the same scene repeated itself around the Laramie Hotel. The explanation this time: Vice President Gore was staying

threat of Palestinian terrorism. Which will mean that many embassies which for close to 50 years have boycotted Jerusalem in favor of Tel Aviv and Herzliya Pituah will come to the city, increasing both the need for protection against that threat and for diplomatic pomp.

ALL modern state capitals have their share of foreign diplomats and visiting heads of state and other dignitaries, but I would bet that the citizens of no other capital suffer as much from such paralysis as do those of Jerusalem.

Much of the problem stems from lack of planning and vested interests in old habits that die hard. When Jerusalem was tiny, there was nothing wrong with putting up American presidents and assorted

It is ludicrous for hundreds of operatives to 'sanitize' every venue which the prime minister decides to honor with his presence

there. Ever since the start of the Oslo process, in September 1993, Jerusalem has become a veritable Mecca for the world's movers and shakers, both those who came to give the late "peacekeeper" Yitzhak Rabin a pat on the back, and those intent on turning the screws on the alleged "peacebreaker" Bibi Netanyahu.

When one adds thrice-yearly religious pilgrimages to the ancient capital, Jerusalem Day parades, sundry marathons and marches, modern, frequently paralyzed, workaday Jerusalem can truly be described as "Capta," the term used by Roman general Titus who destroyed the Jewish capital in 70 AD and enslaved its inhabitants.

I, for one, am betting that within the next few years there will be some sort of agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, but one that is unlikely to be accompanied by any significant diminution in the

Henry Kissingers in the King David Hotel, smack in the middle of town. But now that the city has grown, and the number of visits has increased significantly, continuing with that habit is sheer madness — actually sheer lack of consideration for the convenience of the capital's citizens.

In this era of the direct popular election of prime ministers I would suggest that Bibi, and those who hope to bump him from office, pay greater attention to the cost of angering voters by inconveniencing them for the aggrandizement of their own political egos.

Foreign dignitaries should be accommodated in hotels or special residences on the western edge of the city. New embassies should be located there, too, so as to minimize their impact on traffic in a city that was built in this century but for the traffic of King David's day.

The same principle of putting the citizen-voters' convenience

Dry Bones



ahead of that of the rulers — foreign and domestic — should hold true in regard to the scandalous extremes to which the protection of the prime minister by the GSS has gone, of late.

The trauma which befell the GSS in the wake of its failure to protect Yitzhak Rabin from a relatively unsophisticated assassination is understandable. But the exaggerated extreme to which it has gone is unacceptable from an organization which must behave with cool rationality in weighing risks and costs.

It is ludicrous for hundreds of operatives to "sanitize" every venue which the prime minister decides to honor with his presence, and treat hundreds of citizen-voters

as if they were potential assassins. If there are really such great dangers attendant on the prime minister's appearing in public, then the answer should be that he meet the public via television rather than in the flesh.

There is more than a bit of suspicion that there's quite a bit of macho egotism involved. No one should want harm to befall any of our public figures, but the truth is that our national security would be harmed much more if the IDF chief of staff or his deputy were assassinated than if the prime minister or any other minister were hit.

The GSS should return to its senses and tailor the protection of the prime minister to what is accorded our top military figures.

Of books and men

BERNARD WASSERSTEIN

'People say that life is the thing, but I prefer reading.' Thus Logan Pearsall Smith, writer, aphorist and bibliophile.

Binyamin Netanyahu could not be suspected of such a sentiment. Over a period of several months a camera crew followed him round and recorded scenes from his life with almost total freedom. The result, recently produced for British television, was edited into revealing vignettes that show him at work on a typical day in his office, settling down with his family in the prime ministerial residence, greeting visitors, musing in his car, trying (and failing) to persuade his son to practise on the piano. It was a sympathetic, even if at times awkwardly staged, portrait.

One significant human activity, however, was absent. The prime minister, to judge from this record, does not read books. Indeed, from all we saw, his official home in Balfour Street, Jerusalem, seems bereft of such objects.

I wonder why. It might be that this ambitious son of an unsuccessful author came to the conclusion that books do not form stepping stones to a career. Maybe he lacks the equanimity and powers of concentration required to contemplate ideas between hard covers. Or perhaps he simply prefers to put up his

feet and reach for his cigar box and a six-pack.

Lack of interest in books is not a crime. But in this case it seems to be a reality.

True, Netanyahu's office boasts a shelf of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. These were probably inherited from his predecessors. In fact, the *EJ* seems to have become almost part of the regulation furnishings of ministerial offices in Israel. One half-suspects that the books are not three-dimensional but a trompe l'oeil — perhaps just a strip of blue wallpaper.

It might be argued that, even if he shows little evidence of reading them, Netanyahu writes books. Unkind rumour has it that he benefited from ghostly assistance in these efforts. This in itself should not be held against him. Winston Churchill, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, had a number of helpers — though, unlike Netanyahu, he managed to produce works of enduring literary and historical significance rather than instant candidates for remaindering or pulping.

The contrast with Shimon Peres is stark. Like his friend the late president François Mitterrand, Peres surrounds himself with books. What is more, there is abundant evidence that he does actually read them.

So did his mentor David Ben-Gurion. I recall being astonished by their number and variety when I called on him once in his home in Sde Boker. On a visit to England, in the 1940s, Ben-Gurion disappeared for a whole day from the Zionist headquarters in Great Russell Street. He was eventually discovered, holed up in the classics department of Blackwell's Bookshop in Oxford, happily absorbed in the philosophy of the ancient world and oblivious to the passage of time.

DOES it matter that Netanyahu does not read books? Some of the great statesmen of history were avid readers: Gladstone, Napoleon, Herzl.

Herbert Samuel was a voracious reader, particularly during his time as High Commissioner in Palestine. Others read little: Golda Meir, Ronald Reagan.

Some of the foremost monsters of modern times, including Hitler and Mussolini, had bookish inclinations. Great readers are not necessarily great leaders.

Defenseless America

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Clinton's response at the G-8 summit was characteristically feckless and naive. He was reduced to (1) sputtering that India's nuclear policy was "nutty," and (2) calling for redoubled efforts to get the CTBT ratified. India's explosions had just proved the CTBT irrelevant, but no matter.

Within a decade or two, we will be facing regimes, some quite nasty, that possess missiles armed with nuclear, chemical or biological war-

Soviet? With the demise of the Soviet Union, the ABM treaty became a relic, an obsolete agreement contracted with a nonexistent country to deal with an outdated problem (the temptation of asymmetrically defended countries to attack preemptively). It could — it should — have been declared void.

Failing that, we should have recognized Russia as the successor to the treaty. What did Clinton's clever arms controllers do? Last

September in New York, they signed an agreement extending the ABM treaty not just to Russia but to Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus too. They multiplied the number of parties to the treaty from one to four — making it virtually impossible for any future administration to revise the treaty to allow us to build the defenses we need.

Moreover, the New York agreement invaded an area that the ABM treaty was not supposed to deal with at all. The original treaty bans only "strategic" defenses — i.e., of the American homeland. Bad enough.

The Clinton extension of the ABM treaty, however, also constrains "theater" ABM systems — those we are now developing to defend our troops in the field. The

new treaty restricts, for example, the velocity of our interceptors — which means that our theater defenses will be degraded and dumbed down.

Clinton's arms controllers have thus ensured not just the defenselessness of American cities to missile attack but greater vulnerability of American forces abroad too. Nor is this threat merely theoretical: During the Gulf War, a single Scud missile caused 20 percent of all American casualties.

The greatest travesty is that all this is being done unconstitutionally.

The Senate has not ratified this treaty extension, yet the administration is already implementing it — for instance, exchanging information with the four countries about the capabilities of our theater missile systems. The Clintonites, of course, believe this is all God's work. They believe an ABM treaty provides better protection for the United States than ABMs. That may have been true in the bipolar world of 1972, when the treaty was signed and we faced thousands of Soviet nukes, a threat no ABM system could meet. But today the threat is an accidental or unauthorized launch or a small but lethal barrage from, say, a North Korea or Iran.

Not to worry, says the administration. There will be no ballistic missile threat to the United States before 2010. How do they know? The CIA assures us.

As it did about India. (Washington Post Writers Group)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Sir, — David Weinberg offers some trenchant advice to his haredi brethren in "Dear brother Berl," (May 17). May I offer some advice in return?

First of all, if I wanted to send a letter to someone in my family, I would try to send it to the right address. Not to criticize *The Jerusalem Post*, but it's hardly the address to reach most haredim.

If he really wants to help, he might start by writing to the very papers (*Hamodia*, *Yated*) that he criticizes so bitterly. Of course, for those papers he'd have to tone down his rhetoric. Like him, haredim don't like to be talked down to.

He might also try speaking to some of the leaders who, as he points out, "appropriately represent the kindness, ethical refinement, and devotion of most ultra-Orthodox Jews." (Sorry, but

"ultra-Orthodox" is another phrase I'm allergic to. It inherently implies a rabid extremism. If he were talking about any other population group, such a label would be politically incorrect. But haredim get no protection under the new liberal bill of rights.)

I certainly wouldn't use a public forum that is generally negative toward haredim (there are notable exceptions, such as Jonathan Rosenblum's incisive columns). At best, he is preaching to the converted. At worst, he has set up a pillory for the entertainment of an already hostile audience.

Now, if Weinberg is expecting me to debate him point for point, I have no intention of doing so. The derisive tone of his assertions doesn't lend itself to cool discussion. And I'm really not interested in scoring debating points.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTEMPT

Sir, — Your excellent editorial "Knesset avarice" (May 20) bore out the old truism that "power corrupts." Knesset members have had a field day recently, voting themselves pay rises and other privileges.

As so rightly pointed out, without any form of direct election for Knesset members, MKs do not feel beholden to the electorate since it is the party and not the voter who will get them reelected.

Once, there was a movement for electoral reform which grew from a small — mainly Anglo-Saxon — group to become a grassroots Israeli protest at "dirty politics." There were petitions and demonstrations, at which our present prime minister was usually present, pledging his support for a change in the system.

Suddenly, we were told that, yes there would be direct elections but, at first, only for the prime

Anyway, it would be dishonest for me to deny that there are problems in the haredi community. But these are problems that sensitive leaders have acknowledged and are dealing with. And there are appropriate forums for the discussion of these issues. The op-ed page of a secular newspaper is not one of them.

Weinberg also overlooks the grand history of the haredi community in Israel. Is the incredible rebuilding of the Torah world destroyed by the Nazis any less impressive than draining swamps?

Since we're family, maybe Weinberg would like to come over for Shabbat.

Then we can talk about it over some *cholent*.

MORDECHAI SCHILLER
Jerusalem.

minister and that direct elections for MKs would follow.

So much for that fairy story. As we see, corruption continues, as does parliamentary contempt for Mr. and Mrs. Average Israeli. Will there be a reawakening among Israel's voters to bring real democracy to our Knesset or do we have to say: Electoral Reform RIP?

MITZI KLEIN
Jerusalem.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On May 25, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported that while Jerusalem suffered from a critical water shortage, the British Army engineers found ways to transport water from a distance of 15km. to military barracks and government buildings. An ancient spring was also discovered in Ramle, 68 meters below the surface.

50 years ago: On May 25, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that fighting on all fronts was still going on long after the time limit set by the UN Security Council's cease-fire order. Jewish units succeeded in breaking Egyptian lines surrounding Yad Mordechai. The Arab Legion bombed the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, while Britain was still considering the recall of her officers directing the

15 guns fire barrage.

25 years ago: On May 25, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that Prof. Ephraim Katzir was sworn in as Israel's fourth president — and the second scientist to hold this high office. In his last presidential function, president Zalman Shazar inspected IDF's honor guard in the Knesset.

Alexander Zvielli

05/25/98

1998

Bones

SO HEARD WHAT THAT MEAN EXACTLY

THE OF SWANK

men

Invisible Hand

Diplomacy's Erratic Hit Man: The Dollar

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON
THE last time an Indonesian strongman tested Washington's patience, the Central Intelligence Agency dipped into the movie business. In the late 1950's, it put together a mildly pornographic film starring a lookalike for President Sukarno, caught in bed with a blonde playing a Soviet agent. The humiliation was supposed to drive Indonesia's first president from office.

Predictably, the crazy scheme collapsed. It took a general named Suharto to oust President Sukarno. But by the time Mr. Suharto's time finally ran out last week, after 32 years marked by occasional brilliance, iron-fisted rule and shameless corruption, the world had changed.

Long gone was the cold war intrigue. In retrospect, Washington's scenarios of what might trigger the end of the Suharto era—a military coup, an assassin's bullet, a midnight heart attack—seem almost quaint. Until a few months ago no one had even considered the possibility that an economic crisis would throw the 76-year old leader into a series of losing battles, first against the world's currency traders, then against fleeing foreign investors, and finally against an outraged populace.

And who would have bet that the triggermen in this Javanese shadow play would include a bunch of Ph.D. economists at the International Monetary Fund?

After all, they didn't look so threatening. They talked in banker-speak about "struc-

Friends and foes defy America. But don't fool with the markets.

tural adjustments" and "conditionality" on a \$43 billion bailout package. They never talked politics. Yet their demands that Mr. Suharto break up his family's vast empire of hotels, toll roads and cartels forced him to make a stark political choice, and the I.M.F. knew it. That, says Stanley Fischer, the Fund's No. 2 official, "gave him a lot of credibility" with ordinary Indonesians.

Mr. Suharto chose to protect his family even if it impeded national recovery. But then he also hiked the price of fuel so he could keep his budget deficit within I.M.F. guidelines. The result was an anti-Suharto rebellion that left 500 dead.

There may be no more vivid example of the power of what has come to be known as "economic diplomacy." Yet as the Clinton Administration has learned many times in the past three weeks—not only in Asia, but also in Europe and the Middle East—economic weapons are imprecise at best. Often they are not in Washington's exclusive control: Global markets can knock even the best-aimed economic missile off course. Many are ill-designed, and blow up on the launch pad.

Weak Threats

The threat of economic sanctions did nothing to dissuade India from conducting five nuclear tests, or European firms from striking deals with Iran and Cuba. Even in Indonesia, American officials had no desire to speed Suharto's fall. Fearing more economic instability and bloodshed, they resisted urging him to resign until it was clear he was

Continued on Page 12



American sanctions don't always bring respect. In 1996, Serbs in Vukovar, Croatia, stoned a car that had carried Madeleine K. Albright.

Heart of Europe
Looking at
Berlin, past
and future.

By Alan Cowell

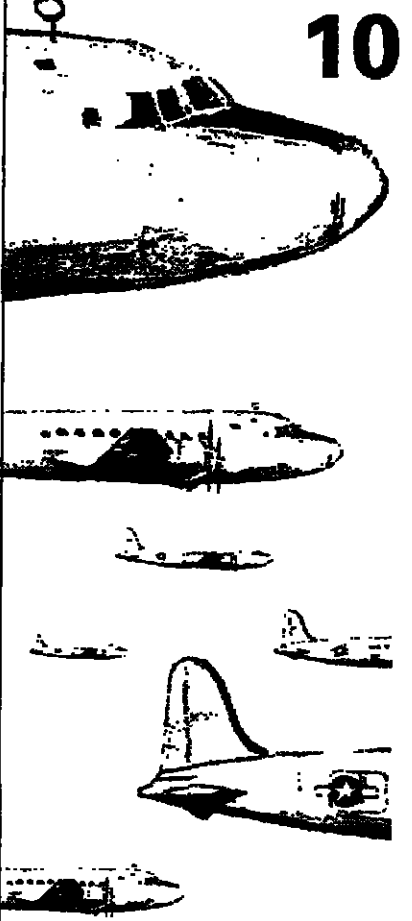


Illustration by Lynn Peasey

Monopoly Game
Breaking up
Microsoft.

By Michael M. Weinstein



Uprooting the Past
History is
rewritten by old
strands of DNA.

By Edward Rothstein



Parallel Universe

Listen Up, Out There. Here's What Cabbies Think of You.



Photo illustration by Barbara Alper for The New York Times

The view from the front seat: A rolling sea of humanity presents a nonstop challenge to cabdrivers. "If I kept going until I ran into every jaywalker, I would kill 200 a shift," one driver confesses.

By BARRY BEARAK

TIME was, the stereotypical New York cabdriver was a gabby if slightly gruff man with a Brooklyn accent who knew every pothole in every street in every borough and greeted people with the world-weary query, "Where to, Mac?"

By the 1970's, however, this relatively benign image had transmuted into Travis Bickle from the movie

"Taxi Driver": a sleep-deprived, psychotic loner with a schoolboy crush on Cybill Shepherd and an assassin's approach to politics.

More recently, the cabbie archetype is that of a turbaned third world man, short of cash and long on nerve, darting through traffic in a frenzied forage for passengers, each fare seemingly as valuable to him as a green card.

"There is not a great deal of public sympathy for taxi drivers," Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani chortled last

week, as he deployed police officers to thwart their protests against the stricter new rules proposed to cut down on cabbies' reckless driving and discourtesy.

Fast-driving cabdrivers have now joined jaywalkers, pornographers and panhandlers as the villains du jour in the Mayor's continuing campaign to bring more civility to New York. "As a political issue, this is what you'd call a no-brainer," Mr. Giuliani said.

But if people have little nice to say about New York cabbies, now is a good time to listen to what New York

cabbies have to say about people. The views from the front seat are far different from those in the back, and they go a long way toward explaining why cabdrivers feel like an angry and oppressed minority—maligned by the public, harassed by the police and overburdened by regulators.

"Drive a taxi in New York—you'll wish you had an ejector button to fling people out of the back seat," said

Continued on Page 11



Berlin, Still the City of a Fateful Century

By ALAN COWELL

FOR most of this century, this city has been at the epicenter of Europe's history, from two world wars to the cold war, sometimes the pugnacious core of aggression, sometimes the pampered victim — a hub of conflict whose spokes first reached out to distant empires and the death camps themselves, then drew Washington and Moscow into a destiny computed on the threat of nuclear war.

It is the city where Hitler strutted and breathed his last. It is the city where a crude concrete wall — raised by Communist decree in 1961, pulled down by people sensing freedom in 1989 — stood for decades as the ultimate icon of Europe's, Germany's and the world's division. It is the city where architecture and manners showcased the conflicts of ideology — from the soaring, Communist-inspired spire of the Alexanderplatz TV tower in East Berlin to the gaudy shops along West Berlin's consumer-driven Kurfürstendamm.

Now, though, at the century's close, as the German Government prepares to complete its return to Berlin next year after four decades on the somnolent banks of the Rhine in Bonn, the city once again challenges outsiders to second-guess its ability to wreak evil or effect good. As the center of a broader, unified Europe, Berlin will again spread its influence east, to the Central European applicants for NATO and European Union membership, and west, to the nations linked by the new European currency, the euro. And, as Lenin once said, whoever controls Berlin controls Germany, and whoever controls Germany controls the Continent.

So what are history's clues for the city's future? Far more than any other world capital, Berlin's chronicle

embraces the poles of good and evil. It was the base of planning for not just the Holocaust but also the expansionist schemes of Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm II. Yet, just as uniquely, Berlin provided the platform for some of humanity's most inspiring images: Think only of the famed (if staged) photograph of the Soviet banner rising from the ruins of the Reichstag to signal Nazism's defeat, or of those electronic images 44 years later of East Berliners pushing down the Berlin Wall to make the same point about Communism. The extremes that dominated the 20th century met their nemesis in Berlin. And as Berlin now celebrates the 50th anniversary of the airlift in 1948 that set the values and icons of the cold war as much as it saved 2.5 million West Berliners from deprivation, its newest reinvention is fraught with paradox too. The airlift, said Professor Fritz Stern, an eminent, German-born American historian, "created the heroic image of the Berliners, the legend of heroic Berlin" embodied in its postwar mayor, Ernst Reuter.

Dissonance

That legacy gave way to different perceptions. As the cold war eased into détente in the 1980's, West Berlin was not so much heroic as in-your-face, a place that became synonymous with the anarchists of the Kreuzberg district, defiantly proclaiming its difference from West Germany, even as West Germany paid its bills.

Well after reunification, as the postwar generation in western Germany eased into bourgeois middle-age, the city maintained its reputation for revolt: When Pope John Paul II came here in 1986, his glass-sided Popemobile was pelted with tomatoes. When President Clinton was here this month, his security detail kept most of the city at arm's length.

Physically, the Berlin Wall is no more. But emotion-

ally, the divisions linger in the hearts of Berliners long used to separation by walls and labels: Communist and capitalist, eastern and western — subliminally, good and bad. That, said Gerd Appenzeller, a political commentator, raises a threat that "two fundamentally different republics" will arise from the divergent dynamics of eastern and western Germany.

Nothing intrudes into Berliners' contemplation of their future so painfully as the angst-laden debate over the design of a new Holocaust memorial that is supposed to be built in the heart of the new city, literally atop the crumbled foundations of Hitler's Third Reich.

The long and inconclusive debate has itself become a memorial of a different kind, symbolizing modern Germany's central dilemma: whether to reaffirm a history predating the Holocaust or to be defined by 12 genocidal years. "Better a thousand years of Holocaust memorial competitions in Germany than any single 'final solution' to Germany's memorial problems," wrote James E. Young, an American professor of English and Judaic studies who is on the panel judging the architectural contest for the memorial.

Many Germans want to walk free of Nazism's shadow. When Chancellor Helmut Kohl welcomed Mr. Clinton to celebrations marking the airlift, he chose to do so not in Berlin but in Potsdam, in the Sans Souci palace long predating the Holocaust, where Frederick the Great and Voltaire pondered not genocide but the Enlightenment. The choice, said Konrad Schüller in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, was an augury that "Germans, too, may live with their history — both the good and the terrible." That may be easier imagined than achieved.

"I doubt very much that the younger generation of leaders would forget the past," said Professor Stern, "but even if they did, Germany's neighbors will remember."

More important in practical terms, Berlin's claim to

dominance is disputed; over four decades, power has been deliberately decentralized. The Supreme Court is in Karlsruhe, the Central Bank is in Frankfurt; Bavarians cleave to Munich; north Germans look to Hamburg.

The postwar German Constitution devolved powers over education, public spending and policing to the 16 federal states. And politicians do not simply prowl the national stage; they hoist their banners in Leipzig and Stuttgart, Magdeburg and Düsseldorf. Chancellor Kohl built his power base in Rhineland-Palatinate. Gerhard Schröder, his Social Democratic challenger in elections next September, built his in Lower Saxony.

Symbolism

Symbolically enough, when the capital moves to Berlin, one of the eight ministries remaining in Bonn will be the Defense Ministry, which controls the 340,000-member armed forces. And if Mr. Kohl's visions of a federal Europe translate into reality, Europe's onetime capital ambitions will be subsumed into a more collective notion of decision-making.

If cities tell their stories through their architecture, moreover, the new Berlin's mixture of imperial bombast and modern uncertainty relays a far more ambiguous message than in the past. The new Reichstag building will be topped by a huge glass and steel cupola symbolizing transparency, not intrigue.

"The mixed signals sent by the latest capital architecture evince unified Germany's murky self-understanding and insecurity about its future direction," said Michael Z. Wise, a journalist, in a new study of Berlin's architecture (*"Capital Dilemma,"* Princeton Architectural Press). And as they build, "the Germans are destined to weigh pride and assertiveness against the competing claim of responsibility for the past."

An Airlift Marks the Beginning of the Cold War

June 1948. A defeated Germany had been carved into four occupation zones by the wartime allies Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States. Berlin, laid within the Soviet zone, but was controlled by all four powers. On June 24, Stalin lay siege to the city's three western zones by blockading all land, rail and canal access, holding the city hostage as he tried to prevent the West from creating a unified West Germany.

Britain and the United States responded by flying in supplies of food and fuel. Soon the Berlin Airlift was under way, a logistical feat of enormous complexity involving the continuous loading of cargo planes at bases in western Germany and flying them three minutes apart along two 20-mile-wide corridors over eastern Germany to Berlin, then back again along a third corridor.

The corridors had been set up in 1945 to provide safe air traffic routes between Berlin and western Germany. Unlike the simple act of setting up a roadblock, Stalin could not stop a plane without shooting it down and risking war.

Day and night, over 15 months, Britain and the United States flew 277,569 missions and delivered 2,325,510 tons of cargo, including 1,586,029 tons of coal and 536,705 tons of food, to Berlin's 2.5 million inhabitants. With conveyor-belt-like efficiency, the planes — with payloads of less than 10 tons — were unloaded and sent back to West Germany to be reloaded.

In May 1949, Stalin relented and lifted the blockade. The West had won the standoff and the city was saved, but the airlift continued until the end of September to build up supplies.

The Berlin crisis was the first confrontation of the cold war. The allies who had fought Hitler became open enemies and their erstwhile foes in West Berlin became stoic victims to defend. The new balance of power was to dominate the world for the next 40 years.

Two immediate consequences were the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in April 1949 and the Federal Republic of Germany in the west in May 1949.

One of the final planes, a British Dakota, landed on Sept. 23, 1949. On its nose was painted "Psalm 21, verse 11," which reads, "For they intended evil against thee: they imagined a mischievous device, which they are not able to perform."

PETER C. T. ELSWORTH

NORTHERN CORRIDOR

Used mainly by the British, who flew in 541,937 tons of supplies. Because the British flew a variety of planes capable of different speeds, they sent them out in timed blocks to prevent overlapping.

CENTRAL CORRIDOR

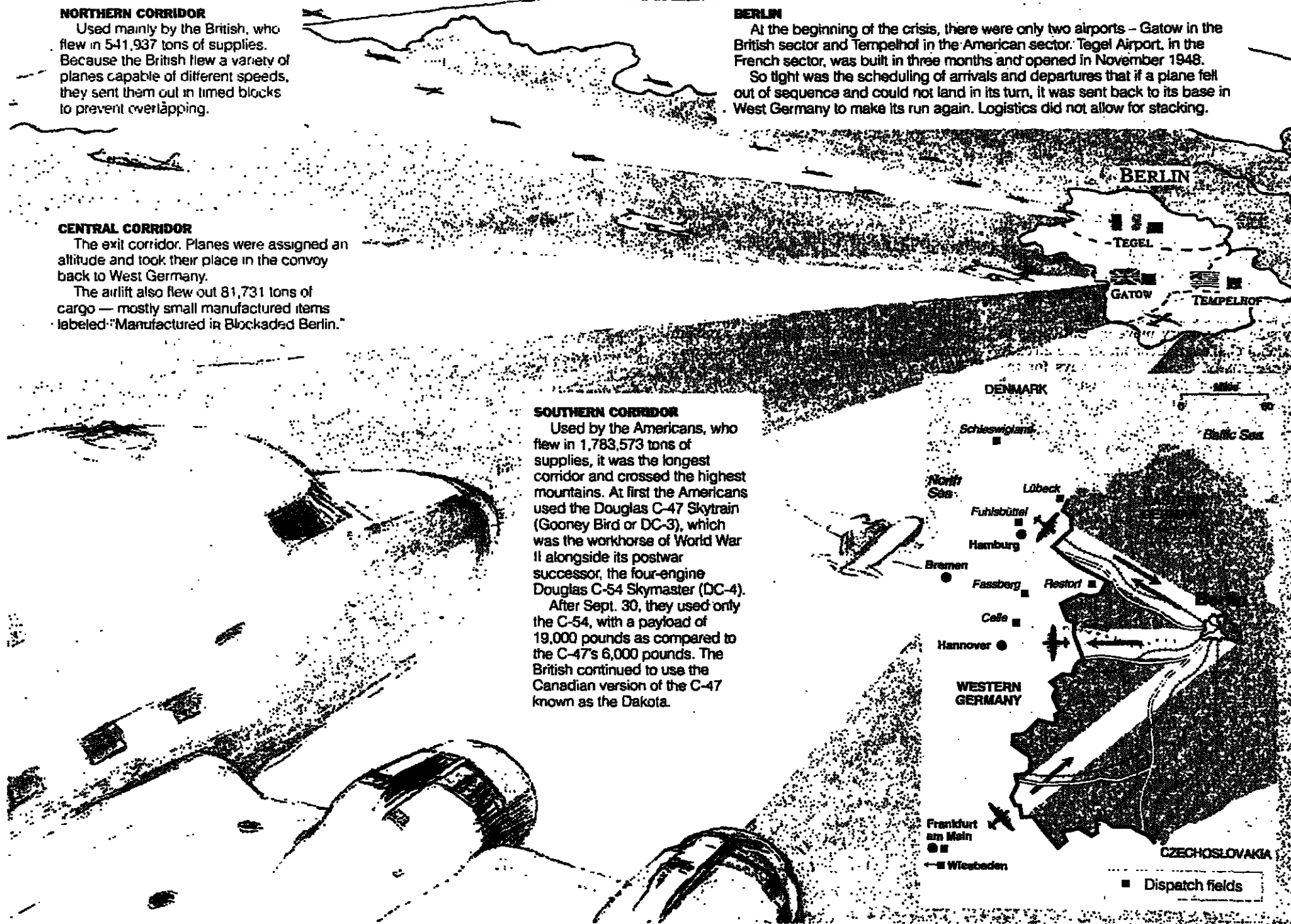
The evil corridor. Planes were assigned an altitude and took their place in the convoy back to West Germany.

The airlift also flew out 81,731 tons of cargo — mostly small manufactured items labeled "Manufactured in Blockaded Berlin."

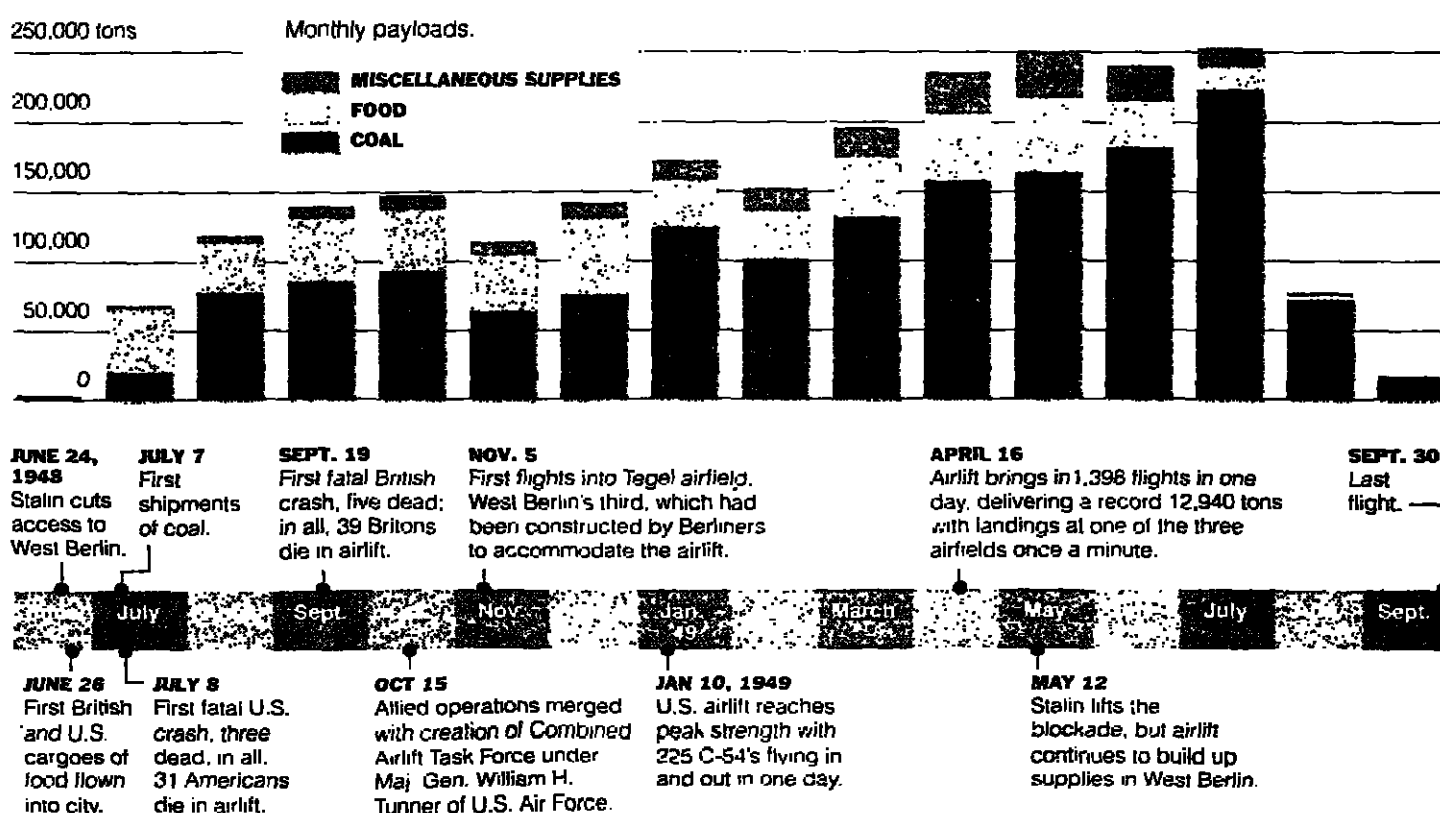
SOUTHERN CORRIDOR

Used by the Americans, who flew in 1,783,573 tons of supplies, it was the longest corridor and crossed the highest mountains. At first the Americans used the Douglas C-47 Skytrain (Gooney Bird or DC-3), which was the workhorse of World War II alongside its postwar successor, the four-engine Douglas C-54 Skymaster (DC-4).

After Sept. 30, they used only the C-54, with a payload of 19,000 pounds as compared to the C-47's 6,000 pounds. The British continued to use the Canadian version of the C-47 known as the Dakota.



The Relief Effort



A Day's Food Supply

The daily amount of food the Western allies estimated it took to feed the 2.5 million inhabitants of West Berlin.

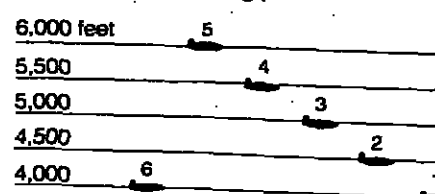
Flour and wheat	646 tons
Potatoes	180
Vegetables	144
Cereals	125
Meat and fish	109
Sugar	85
Fats	64
Milk (dried)	43
Salt	19
Coffee	11
Cheese	10
Yeast	3

Aerial Conveyor Belts

To maintain the steady stream of flights into Berlin, the allies devised flight patterns to keep the planes separated.

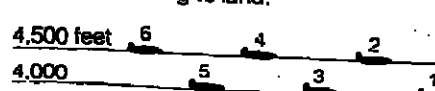
LADDER PATTERN

The planes flew about 180 miles per hour and were scheduled 3 minutes, or nine miles, apart. In addition, they flew at 5 different altitudes. The first planes worked their way up in 500-foot increments. The sixth plane took its place on the lowest altitude and the pattern was repeated. One problem: The fifth plane had so far to descend that it sometimes interfered with the sixth plane's landing pattern.



BICYCLE CHAIN PATTERN

As visibility increased in the spring and summer, flights were scheduled at the same rate but over two altitudes, reducing conflict when descending to land.



The Nation

How To Break Up Microsoft

By MICHAEL M. WEINSTEIN

STACKED against the landmark antitrust cases of the past, the actions taken by Department of Justice against Microsoft last week are pint-sized. The behemoth Standard Oil Company was broken up more than 80 years ago into 34 refining companies, pipelines and other pieces. AT&T was broken up into one long-distance and seven regional phone companies. The Government spent 13 years trying to dismantle I.B.M. before dropping the effort in 1982 out of exhaustion. All the Government wanted from Microsoft last week was less heavy-handed behavior.

According to the Justice Department, Microsoft exploits its monopoly of Windows, the operating system that runs about 90 percent of the nation's personal computers, to dominate sales of many other products and services. As proof, the Government points to contracts Microsoft has with computer manufacturers and companies selling services over the Internet that prevent them from steering customers to Microsoft's competitors. These and other exclusionary practices, all based on the dependence of Microsoft's partners on Windows, make it likely that Microsoft will dominate the market for browsers — the software that connects personal computers to the Internet — and maybe even the markets for real estate, travel and other commercial services available on line.

Nobody at the Justice Department is openly talking about breaking up Microsoft — yet. But many analysts predict that Microsoft's chokehold on cyberspace will tighten, and that the Government will respond by trying to restructure Microsoft to weaken

Imagining even tougher action against a Windows monopoly.

its ability to block competition, rather than by subjecting every move by Bill Gates to judicial challenge. Economists are already thinking hard about feasible ways for the Government to take bold action.

The Government's suit seeks to prohibit Microsoft's exclusionary practices. But many analysts are skeptical that a monopoly backed by the power of Windows can be sidetracked by behavioral pimpicks. If the skeptics are right, Microsoft's commercial tentacles could grow to gargantuan length — grasping new technologies for transmitting movies and other video data over the Internet, for example. At that point, Microsoft's economic muscle could make that of the old AT&T look puny by comparison, and Justice will be compelled to revisit the trust-busting tactics of yesteryear.

But trust-busters would get little guidance from the breakups of Standard Oil, AT&T and, more recently, electrical utilities. Standard Oil controlled oil wells, refineries and pipelines. AT&T controlled the only phone wires running into Americans' homes. Electrical utilities owned the only transmission lines. Those monopolies flowed from easily identified physical assets that could be split off from the rest of a company and regulated separately. But Microsoft owns nothing much more than the 0's and 1's of its computer code.



Bill Gates, 1998

John D. Rockefeller, 1932

Worse still for would-be trust-busters, those 0's and 1's are constantly changing. The phone and transmission lines running into Americans' homes don't change very much from one year to the next. But Microsoft transforms Windows frequently, which raises the question: what exactly is Windows? A central tenet of the Government's complaint is that Microsoft demolishes competition for application programs, like programs that reorganize data on disk drives, by incorporating them into Windows, while rivals must sell them as stand-alone applications. A few years back, Windows did not include a browser. Now it does, and the sales of browsers by Microsoft's major competitor are shriveling.

If the Government cannot define Windows, it cannot easily split Microsoft's operating system from its applications software — the antitrust equivalent of separating local phone lines from AT&T. A few economists have given the Microsoft problem serious thought, however, and come up with intriguing suggestions.

Pieces of the Action

Frederic M. Scherer of Harvard proposes a tactic the Government once used against Xerox: compulsory licensing. Xerox was required in the 1970's to license patents for paper-feeding and other technical knowhow to would-be competitors in order to break its monopoly in copy machines. Mr. Scherer would require Microsoft to sell to any willing buyer, for a fee determined by the Government, the right to modify and market the Windows operating system.

The idea is to clone Microsoft. Each licensee could choose its own browser, develop its own Web sites or advertise the Web sites of any other company. This would inject competition where virtually none now exists.

But Mr. Scherer's plan does pose a danger. If the licensees modified Windows too much, they would destroy the compatibility and efficiency of the existing system that exists thanks to the standard set by Microsoft that every computer program follows. To address this danger, Mr. Scherer proposes an industry committee to limit modifications of Windows.

Garth Saloner of Stanford University offers a less regulated version of Mr. Scherer's plan, in which the Government would neither set standards nor set fees. He would split Microsoft into a company that sells Windows and a company that sells word-processing and other applications. Microsoft would have to auction off to the two or three highest bidders the source code behind Windows. The winning bidders would be free to modify their version of Windows in any way they think their customers would want. The clones could also develop word processing and other applications in competition with Microsoft.

Mr. Saloner stops short of proposing a czar to oversee industry standards because, he predicts, his Microsoft clones would not risk driving away customers by peddling an operating system that is incompatible with their large inventories of Windows-based software. Mr. Saloner could imagine, for example, that Sun Microsystems would bid for the right to sell a version of Windows that would offer customers a non-Microsoft browser and also preserve compatibility with the operating system that Sun provides its corporate clients. Competition among three or four Windows-wielding firms, he argues, is enough to insure that no one company dominates cyberspace technology and commerce.

So far, the threat that Microsoft will thwart competition is just that — a threat. The American computer industry is by most accounts remarkably dynamic and creatively entrepreneurial. That in part explains why the Justice Department decided on behavioral remedies for now. But there may come a time when Microsoft's business tactics prove intolerable, threatening to concentrate economic power over Internet commerce. Yet the lawyers and economists at the Justice Department's antitrust division will no doubt hesitate to take bold action. The 13-year I.B.M. quagmire looms over trust-busting adventures just as the Vietnam quagmire looms over military adventures. The importance of the Scherer and Saloner plans lies less in their details, which are incomplete, than in the fact that they provide a blueprint should Justice decide that trust-busting cannot remain a relic of the past.

Rating the Bigshots: Gates vs. Rockefeller

By ALLEN R. MYERSON

LET the competition begin to write the first rough drafts of the Bill Gates chapter in American history.

By the time the Justice Department filed its broad antitrust suits last week, the argument in some quarters had already come down to how much Bill Gates is like John D. Rockefeller, whose Standard Oil made him the most famed monopolist of a century ago.

Robert Pitofsky, the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, was a law professor who taught about the Supreme Court's decision to break up Standard Oil. "Market power that John D. Rockefeller would envy," Mr. Pitofsky says of Mr. Gates.

So in comparing them, why simply speculate, when the evidence is already there?

A Lousy Billion

For starters, who's really richer? Looks like it's Mr. Gates. Rockefeller barely reached a lousy billion. But that was in 1913, at the beginning of an inflationary century, and doesn't account for his habit of giving money away almost as fast as he made it. Adjust for inflation, add back the money Rockefeller donated, and Mr. Gates is still ahead. Ronald Chernow, author of "Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller" (Random House, 1996), estimates that in today's currency, Rockefeller was worth at most \$25.6 billion.

Mr. Gates owns nearly 542 million shares of Microsoft, more than 20 percent of the company. Antitrust actions have dented his net worth, but as of the market close on Friday, he was still good for \$46 billion.

But who, then, has lived better? Judging from their homes, it's Rockefeller, though Mr. Gates has only begun to compete. Mr. Rockefeller had estates in Cleveland and South Florida, but his prime residence was a 3,600-acre estate in Pocantico Hills, N.Y., more than four times the size of Central Park. He rerouted roads and even a railroad in the area lest soot and smoke ruin his golf game.

Mr. Gates is still building his \$35 million waterfront home near Seattle. With a 20-car garage tunneled into the hillside, a combination indoor waterfall/spa/60-foot pool and video walls that can be programmed to display a guest's favorite art, Mr. Gates is still trying to reconcile the demands of infotech flashiness, environmental correctness and domestic tranquility.

Like the many versions of his software, the home is now in, say, Release 4.0. Each wave of modifications, however, raises doubts about whether they only aggravate a bad case of feature shock.

In other ways, however, Rockefeller and Mr. Gates earnestly compete across the decades in cheapness. Mr. Rockefeller's estates in Pocantico Hills and Cleveland had their own golf courses, but around water hazards he cut his risks by switching to old balls. He wore suits until they were shiny, and sometimes billed his guests for board. Mr. Gates flew coach until he bought his own plane a few months ago. He still feasts on fast-food hamburgers.

But, given the importance of image, who then sounds more like a rapacious monopolist? Here, too, it looks like an even match, as both borrowed the language of organized crime to describe what they were doing, even for deeds that were entirely legal. The Standard Oil men, using code words to preserve secrecy, spoke of making competitors "feel sick," or of giving them "a good sweating."

The Gates crowd speaks instead of collecting a "vigorous," or "vig." For organized crime, that means a regular, extortionate loan payment, unavoidable for borrowers

who value their health. For Microsoft, it means a regular software licensing payment, unavoidable for almost anyone who wants to use a personal computer. It is figured into the cost of every machine. Now Microsoft wants to collect a vig on Internet access too.

Which brings us to public relations. Here, Rockefeller got off to a terrible start, then made a comeback, while Mr. Gates has done the reverse. Image-polishing was an art Mr. Rockefeller ignored until the Supreme Court broke up his company in 1911. Thus the muckraking press, led by Ida Tarbell, got to define him as a rapacious monopolist. Only then did he hire Ivy Lee, one of the first professional publicists. He followed Lee's advice to hand out shiny dimes to children. Living to age 98, he came to be viewed as eccentric and, for his charities small and large, even benevolent.

Mr. Gates, attuned to the business celebrity culture from the start, took the leading role in a saga that has been called the "Revenge of the Nerds." He and his handlers, however, have been so heavy-handed in responding to competitors and public officials that they inadvertently confirmed many fears. Thus the need for another image transplant reminiscent of Michael Milken's sudden desire to take hordes of kids to ball games. Discovering, like Mr. Rockefeller, that children remain useful props, Mr. Gates visited a sixth-grade classroom in the Washington Heights neighborhood of Manhattan last March, after his handlers had strung five banks of movie lights and sent in a company video crew. That was the day after an appearance before a Senate panel where he was portrayed much as Ida Tarbell described Rockefeller.

What, then, about true philanthropy? Who was genuinely the more generous? Hand it to Rockefeller, even though Mr. Gates has promised to catch up. In "The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power" (Simon & Schuster, 1991), Daniel Yergin says Rockefeller gave away \$550 million, equivalent to billions today. He established the Rockefeller Foundation and Rockefeller University, financed the University of Chicago and sponsored Spelman College in Atlanta to educate the families of freed black slaves.

Giving It Away

Mr. Gates promises to eventually give away more than 90 percent of his wealth. He has provided about \$555 million for the William H. Gates Foundation, pledged to spend about \$200 million through the Gates Library Foundation and has spread around at least another \$22 million.

Like Rockefeller, he favors universities, having donated libraries, biotechnology labs and computer centers to schools, including the University of Washington, Harvard and Stanford. He has given smaller amounts to Washington state campaigns to oppose a tax rollback, fearing damage to school systems, and to improve handgun control. Through his foundation, he has given several million dollars to promote international family planning and women's and children's health.

Mr. Gates and his defenders, however, would rather not compare him with Rockefeller in any respect, preferring to liken him to the greatest inventors. Time magazine, at its 75th anniversary celebration recently, made the comparison manifest by inviting him to speak about the Wright Brothers.

He eagerly drew parallels between their enterprise and his. Noting that he had visited Kitty Hawk for inspiration, he said, "The Wright brothers created the single greatest cultural force since the invention of writing, for their invention became the first World Wide Web."

What Cabbies Think of You

Continued From Page 9

Michael Higgins, a 10-year veteran driver and the editor of Taxi Talk magazine. "You have no idea what kind of lunatics get into your cab each day, every day. People are high. People are drunk. People are throwing up. I wish I could put up a sign: Bean eaters must use mass transit."

"Then there are the businessmen. They're tense, they're late. They don't want to hear that red means stop or U-turns are illegal. They have big mouths and they use their tongues like a whip. Day in, day out, you have to listen to their condescending crap: go this way, go that way. Well, shut the hell up!"

Driving a taxi is tough work. The shifts are usually 12 hours long. The traffic is madness. The pay is not great. The passengers are unappreciative.

The aggravation begins with the hailing of the cab. "Some people stand several yards out in the street to wave at you, and when they see you're stopping they just stay where they are," said William Mersey. "Picking them up out there is illegal. That's what gets you tickets."

New Yorkers assume they know the quickest route to a destination.

"The passenger has not dealt with the gridlock all day, but they do not want to listen when you tell them," said Mohammad Gull, a Pakistani driver. "Then, in the tie-up, when they see you are stuck for a late hour

and the meter is going, they say, 'O.K., I walk from here.' And the driver is the one who is stuck."

Khalil Snaky, a Moroccan cabdriver, said many passengers checked their political correctness at the curb before getting into a cab. "They talk about you with a lot of racism, figuring you can't understand," he said.

Not the Good Life

East Side, West Side, all around the town: the routine gets a bit dizzying. Cabbies confess to getting sleepy, which is not a good thing. Someone must remain alert — and it is surely not going to be the city's pedestrians.

"Look at this man!" shouted Balvinder Singh, an Indian cabbie, as he drove along Broadway in midtown. A pedestrian was crossing in front of his taxi, head up in the bull's-eye of his bumper.

"I'll bet this man has a Ph.D.," he said. "And I'll bet he is wearing a \$1,000 suit. But he cares nothing for his life, nothing at all!"

Mr. Mersey offered some rough estimates regarding pedestrian traffic: "If I kept going until I ran into every jaywalker, I would kill 200 a shift."

The city's 12,187 yellow cabs are regulated by the Taxi and Limousine Commission, which publishes a 45-page booklet of rules pertaining to driving, courtesy, rate cards, meters, roof lights, seat belts, where to pick up and where to drop off.

While each rule has its own logical purpose, taken together they demand a near-perfect standard of performance that few cabbies can attain.

"It is a Draconian system that would make life difficult for anyone," said Guy Roberts, a one-time driver who now operates his own fleet of 111 cabs. "Nobody says the laws should not be enforced, but drivers — and we're talking about low-income people — are being seriously harassed with stupid tickets for stupid rules: \$100 for a single light bulb being burned out."

Cabbies hate being pulled over for routine inspections by the police. They are fined if a receipt is found hanging from the meter, if a piece of paper is found lying on the floor, if a smudge of dirt has stained the back seat, if an incomplete entry is logged on the trip card.

"Most drivers are from the Indian subcontinent, and immigrant groups have always had problems with the police," Mr. Roberts said. "Their culture is different, their English is not the best. They get treated with contempt. The Irish went through it, the Italians, the Jews. Now it's the Indians' turn."

In 1995, the Police Department was ordered to form a special unit to enforce the host of T.L.C. regulations for yellow cabs. By 1997, the number of summonses against drivers had more than doubled, according to city statistics.

"Taxi drivers have a tremendous



Driving a taxi is tough work. The shifts are long, the pay is not great and the passengers are unappreciative.

responsibility and they need to be held to a higher standard," said Capt. Walter Smith, who runs the police taxi unit. "After all, they are carrying precious human cargo."

The higher standard often results in double penalties. If a police officer tickets a cabbie for a moving violation, the state Department of Motor Vehicles then alerts the T.L.C., which mails the driver a second summons. This is widely known as "the double

zap." Violating a traffic law is a violation of a T.L.C. law.

"Yes, there are bad taxi drivers, but the penalties are too high for even the good ones, and now Mayor Giuliani wants to make them even worse," said Mohammad J. Hussain, a Bangladeshi driver. "The taxi drivers have no union, just splinter groups. We have no power against someone like the Mayor."

If cabbies ever did attain some

power, the Bastille they would want to storm would be the T.L.C. court on Queens Boulevard in Long Island City. Most every summons requires a T.L.C. hearing, and most every hearing requires the loss of a day's pay in an hours-long wait in an overcrowded building for an inevitable fine.

"People think the cabdriver is crazy," Mr. Singh said. "They should come to the T.L.C. court and find out what drives the cabdriver crazy."

Ideas & Trends

DNA Teaches History a Few Lessons of Its Own

By EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

HISTORY, with all its horrors, accidents and astonishments, has been interpreted as an epic tale of great men and as a tragic tale of alienated labor. It has been interpreted through the eyes of religion, psychology and metaphysics. But now the search for another kind of history is taking place.

That quest led to the exhumation of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier this month, and to the recent disinterments of Yves Montand and Jesse James. It has drawn researchers to villages in India seeking saliva samples. Blood has been drawn from descendants of Thomas Jefferson and descendants of one of his slaves. Jews who identify themselves as descendants of the Biblical high priests have been probed.

The new history is inscribed in strands of DNA. Genetic researchers assert that there is new information that history must take into account, new evidence about once-private events, and that there are new ways of interpreting the distant human past.

The prospect of genetic history has already heightened some anxieties over what is considered inappropriate racial analysis, while inspiring speculation about shared human origins and worldwide migrations.

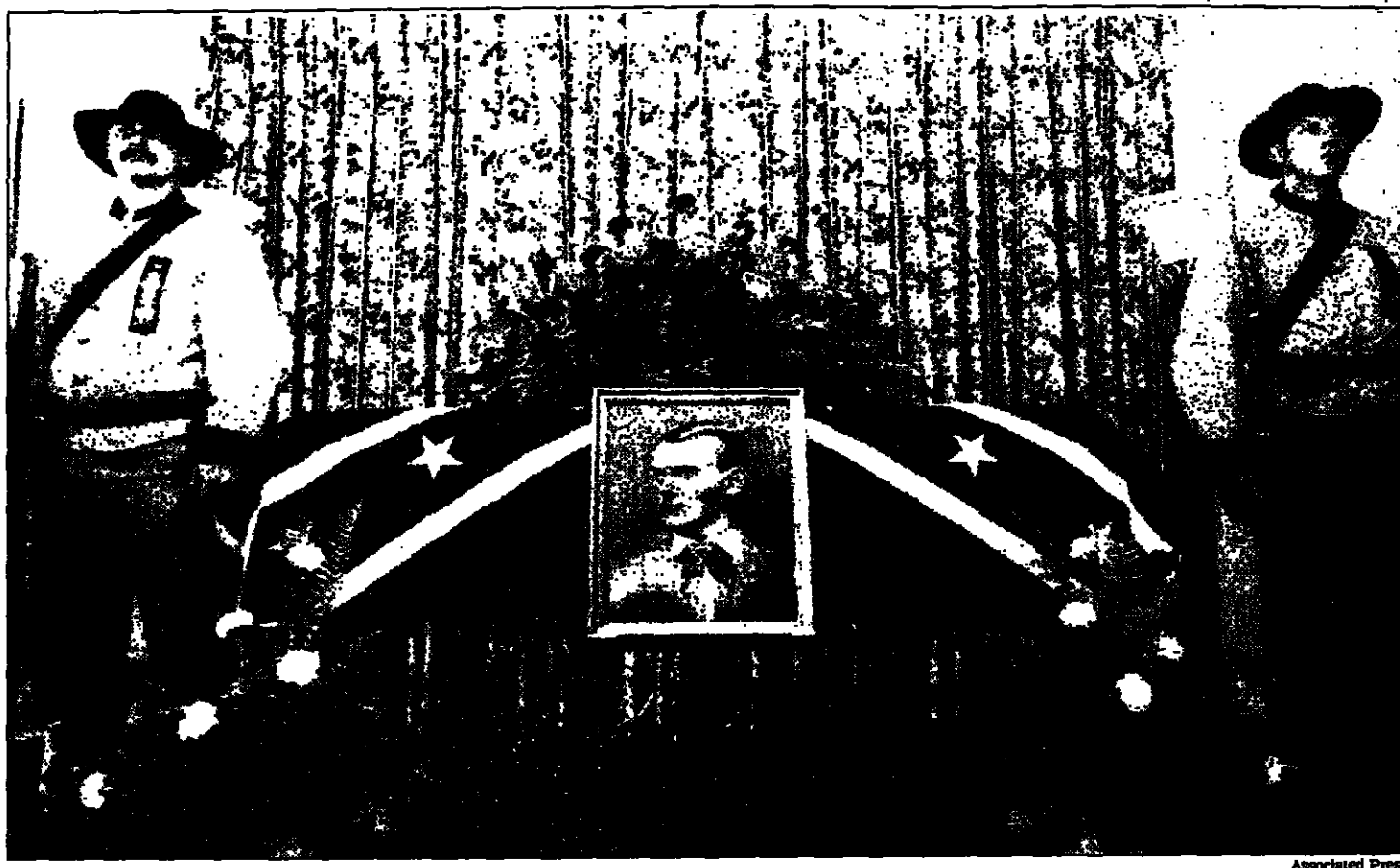
On the smallest scale, the approach has become commonplace. Analysis of individual genetic fingerprints is now a standard forensic tool. DNA testing has also become crucial in paternity suits (claims of paternity led to the tests now being conducted on the remains of Mr. Montand).

The Unknown Soldier from the Vietnam War is being tested after the family of a missing Air Force lieutenant killed in 1972 argued that the Unknown might well be their relation. Since the armed forces now keep a registry of all soldiers' DNA "prints," there may never be an Unknown Soldier again.

Jefferson and His Slave

The Thomas Jefferson case is evidence of a broader historical reach. Did Jefferson father a child with one of his slaves, Sally Heming? That has been the oral tradition among Heming's descendants, recently accepted as fact in the Merchant-Ivory movie "Jefferson in Paris," though dismissed by many historians. DNA testing is being used to reveal the probabilities.

But it is also being used for grander historical interpretation. In a major recent book, "The History and Geography of Human Genes" (Princeton, 1994), researchers



In 1995 a DNA analysis proved that the body in Jesse James's grave was his. Civil War re-enactors at his reburial in Missouri.

analyzed nearly a century of genetic information from isolated communities around the world, arguing that the data reveal a path of human migrations over the past 200,000 years, beginning in Africa and extending across Asia to the Americas. But the principal author, Luca Cavalli-Sforza, a professor of genetics at Stanford University, cautioned that the genetic data were too crude, including, for example, information about inherited blood type. Subtle DNA analysis was just coming into its own.

Now one kind of analysis is based on close examination of portions of the male Y chromosome, which are, remarkably, passed from father to son absolutely unchanged, providing a record of patrilineal descent unaffected by matings or migrations.

In Mr. Cavalli-Sforza's lab, a molecular biologist, Peter Underhill, and a biochemist, Peter Oefner, found ways to discern about 150 variations in that strand — changes that

can only be attributed to extremely rare mutations. Identical changes in different men point to a common ancestor.

Last year, for example, Michael Hammer, a geneticist at the University of Arizona, showed that a genetic analysis of the Y chromosomes of Jewish men who ritualistically identified themselves as descendants of the Biblical High Priest Aaron and are known as Cohanim showed a high transmission of markers that were less prevalent among Jews who did not identify as Cohanim. This was evidence, Mr. Hammer said, of the accuracy of the oral tradition.

Adam and Eve

The same analysis of subtle markers has been used to assert the existence of a single prehistoric Adam, a human who had a subtle mutation in the Y chromosome whose descendants left their compatriots in Africa

and populated the rest of the Earth, possibly then returning to Africa as well. Only a few living men don't have that marker — some Ethiopians, Sudanese and Khoisan people in southern Africa. Analyses of DNA markers passed exclusively from mother to daughter have reached similar conclusions about a proto-Eve and her African origins.

Such markers can be valuable in discerning other historical migrations as well. The Wall Street Journal reported recently that two researchers are trying to determine whether historical accounts of ancient Jews migrating east after the destruction of their temple in the sixth century B.C. are accurate. They are testing inhabitants of villages in India, where some communities retain an oral tradition of Israelite origins.

There have also been new kinds of historical speculation and interpretation based on genetic data. Henry C. Harpending, a University of Utah anthropologist, has argued that

mathematical analysis of contemporary genetic variability shows that the original human community probably had a population no larger than 10,000, at a single site. This site, he suggested in an interview, could be searched for by archeologists.

Other researchers have made suggestions that reinterpret ancient hunter-gatherer societies. Apparently, women's genetic information has been geographically dispersed more widely than men's — contradicting the accepted evidence that men traveled more.

A new way to test a fact means whole new stories can be told.

The new hypothesis is that women encountered by men on their travels tended to return home with them, bearing children far from their birthplaces.

There is some nervousness about the genetic retelling of history, partly because, as Mr. Cavalli-Sforza points out in his book, racism has been an ancient part of historical conflict and has, in modern times, become particularly pernicious in its association with genetics. Moreover, genetic research is most fruitful within groups that have maintained long-term cohesion or isolation — like Jews, Basques, Native Americans or American blacks — groups that have characteristics associated with "race." This has led to some worry about the possible misuse of research, for example, among Jews taking part in tests about inherited disease.

But Mr. Cavalli-Sforza argues that genetic analysis of history has nothing to do with race. In fact, it proves that race is an illusion: variability within "races," he points out, is greater than genetic variability between "races."

More important, the markers now being used to trace history have no association with appearance or with known characteristics. Mr. Underhill pointed out that this is why they are so important: they have no apparent evolutionary or social value.

These markers trace events rather than help cause them. They thus seem to be the objective witnesses to history that historians have long sought, providing evidence of the most private acts of procreation — new data upon which historians are beginning to work their interpretive art.

Payback Time

Give Me an 'A' or Else

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

EVERY year at about this time, just as classes are winding down, college professors begin handing out a test that could be the most important of the course.

Most important, that is, for them. It is the student evaluation.

Colleges and universities have greatly increased the use of student evaluations in recent years, and now there is concern that their widespread use may contribute to grade inflation.

"Grading leniency affects ratings," said Anthony Greenwald, a psychologist at the University of Washington. "All other things being equal, a professor can get higher ratings by giving higher grades."

Mr. Greenwald and a colleague, Gerald Gillmore, analyzed 600 course evaluations at the university and concluded that the assessments were flawed and often misused.

Their study, published last year in The Journal of Educational Psychology, showed that math and science instructors "suffer the worst under the current evaluation system and are at the bottom of the ratings because they teach tough courses, give lower grades and demand a lot of hard work," Mr. Greenwald said.

Grades have been rising at all colleges and universities but especially at elite institutions.

Not That Much Smarter

Princeton University, for example, reported in February that 83 percent of the grades between 1992 and 1995 were A's or B's, compared with 69 percent between 1973 and 1975. This occurred in the absence of compelling evidence that students were that much better prepared, according to a university report.

What is clear is that during the same time period student evaluations became more important, according to a recent survey by Peter Seldin, a professor of management at Pace University. In 1973, 23 percent of the 600 institutions he surveyed said they used student evaluations as a factor in tenure, promotion or salary decisions. Today, the proportion has grown to 88 percent, he said.

"There is no other source as widely used as the student rating to evaluate teaching," said Mr. Seldin.

Used at some colleges since the early part of the century, student

Students are encouraged to express their own ideas and/or question the instructor.	Very Poor	Poor	Moderate	Good	Very Good
Individual Report:					
Instructor is friendly towards individual students.					
Instructor makes students feel welcome in seeking help/advice in or outside of class.					
Instructor has a genuine interest in individual students.					
Instructor is adequately accessible to students during office hours or after class.					
Examinations:					
Instructor adequately discusses current developments in field.					
Examinations:					
Feedback on examinations/graded materials is valuable.					
Methods of evaluating student work are fair and appropriate.					
Examinations/graded materials test course content as emphasized by the instructor.					
Assignments:					
Required readings/texts are valuable.					

Selections from evaluation questionnaires used at several universities.

evaluations bloomed in the 1960's as a response to restive students clamoring for a greater say in their education.

They vary in form; some ask students to rate teachers on a scale of 1 to 5 on such things as lecture preparation, the helpfulness of course materials, rapport with students and fairness of grading. Others ask for written comments. Some allow both.

The results usually are distributed to the instructor and the department head. Some universities summarize the findings and make them available to students in a catalog.

At a few institutions students provide their own rating service. The Harvard Crimson newspaper's Conf-Guide, written by anonymous contributors, offers a sometimes irreverent take on the value of particular courses.

An entry on a political philosophy course reads: "The material is dry. Very dry. So dry that it's hard to imagine anything else being more difficult to get through without falling asleep. Lectures, therefore, are painful at times."

Published on and off for 70 years — and on-line in its latest incarnation — it competes with the university's official "CUE Guide," a compendium of statistics and observations about

courses culled from official student evaluation forms.

The Conf-Guide has been known to "upset people a good bit," said Michael Andrade, a junior who is president of the Harvard Crimson. But the CUE Guide, he said, has the opposite problem. "The CUE guide is facts buried in objectivity," Mr. Andrade said.

William McKeatchie, an emeritus psychology professor at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor who is widely regarded as the dean of evaluation researchers, said the preponderance of research shows that teachers who earned high ratings by students also earned high marks from peers, neutral observers and other evaluators.

Imperfect Measure

The evaluations are often the best — if imperfect — measure of teaching ability, Professor McKeatchie said. Still, he has reservations about their widespread use.

Colleges often set arbitrary standards for evaluation results "without considering the nature of the course, the specific circumstances involved, such as the number of students in the course," he said. "It's like an intelligence test. They are misused a lot."

Diplomacy's New Hit Man: The Free-Market Dollar

Continued From Page 9

about to go anyway. And the new President, B.J. Habibie, hardly inspires investor confidence. He is an unpredictable crony capitalist, distrusted by the military, who is best described as Suharto lite.

Nothing looked quite this complicated when President Clinton began declaring, six years ago, that foreign policy and economic policy are one. Economic engagement was supposed to spread America's influence. A world moving toward American-style capitalism, Mr. Clinton often says, will inevitably turn toward democracy, peaceful co-existence and friendship with its new business partner, America Inc. Congress stepped in with the other side of the policy, passing laws that threaten unilateral economic sanctions against global miscreants — those who proliferate nukes, violate human rights, prop up Cuba or keep out American car parts.

It sounds like a clean business deal. Out there where investors, politicians and nationalistic emotion mix, however, the results are a little messy. And for those who think American foreign policy is at a particularly low ebb, an overreliance on the power of economic incentives and disincentives is viewed as a reason America seems to enjoy less influence around the world than a sole superpower should.

"There are a few situations, like Indonesia, where it all comes together, where economic action can create political consequences," said Richard N. Haass, a national security expert in the Bush Administration. "But the big lesson of the past decade is that economic incentives and particularly economic sanctions rarely work if their goals are too ambitious."

Look at India, once the focus of power games with the Soviets and more recently the destination of an endless parade of Clinton Administration trade missions. The Administration bet that by bringing in American capital, building power stations and promoting the rise of the software industry, it would create a new market for American goods and bring India into "the web of engagement."

Presumably India's leaders knew the economic cost of conducting five nuclear tests. But they decided that no amount of money outweighed the benefit of demonstrating the country's nuclear muscle to China and Pakistan. The United States immediately slapped huge sanctions on the country, under a law that left President Clinton virtually no maneuvering room. But when Mr. Clinton looked over his shoulder during the summit meeting of the big industrialized nations last weekend, he saw his allies publicly condemning the nuclear tests while some quietly dusted off their order books, hoping to snap up the deals Washington had left on the table.

The Leverage Gap

Almost simultaneously, the White House backed down from threats of sanctions against European firms for doing business with Iran and Libya. Those threats sounded tough: Any global company doing deals there was put on notice that it would suffer sanctions in America. The strategy backfired. Rather than create an alliance against terrorist states, it created an alliance against the American assumption that Washington can set foreign policy for the world.

"The problem is that sanctions imply a leverage we

don't have anymore," said David Rothkopf, a former top Commerce Department official. "In 1946, when half of all world trade went through the U.S., we could impose those kinds of control. Today, when 14 percent goes through the United States, we can't control it." Mr. Clinton was lucky to save face with a deal in which allies swore to fight proliferation — if America waived the sanctions and urged Congress to rewrite the law.

And sometimes the backlash is felt at home. Mr. Clinton's six-year effort to dangle the ultimate economic carrot — access to American technology — before China has enmeshed him in a new campaign finance nightmare. To bring China along on everything from non-proliferation to human rights, Mr. Clinton changed rules that had classified satellites as munitions. That shifted the decision about exporting them from the Pentagon to the Commerce Department — which is more inclined toward exports. It made China happy, and American satellite makers very, very happy.

Unfortunately for Mr. Clinton, those satellite makers numbered among his most generous political donors. And an executive of China Aerospace, which

India, North Korea and Iraq only prove the limits of threatening sanctions.

launches the satellites, now appears to have been the conduit for an inept Chinese effort to funnel foreign money into the 1996 campaign. The White House says it didn't know about the Chinese contributions, and wasn't influenced by the American donors.

On Wednesday the House of Representatives responded with fury, voting overwhelmingly to bar all satellite exports to China. The vote was cast as an issue of national security: If it becomes law, though, it will simply assure that European satellite makers get China's business. (Curiously, more than 20 House members who voted to bar the exports had urged Mr. Clinton to allow similar exports several years ago — precisely so the Europeans wouldn't get that business.)

So what are the lessons from this confusing morass of economic tactics and global strategy?

First is the Ideology Rule: Passionate national causes — particularly the urge for self-sufficiency — almost always trump economic rationality. That's why the Indians pressed the button, and it's why the North Koreans and Iraqis and Serbs have been so adamant.

Second is the Sanctions Rule: Unilateral sanctions almost never work — precisely because they are unilateral (unlike those against South Africa in the age of apartheid). In a global economy, there are too many producers of almost everything.

Finally, the Suharto Rule: When you open up your economy, you'd better make sure you have your act together — with an economy not dominated by corruption, with banks that can absorb shocks, and with a way to assure investors that things won't go to pieces if the Government falls. Otherwise, you risk the 1990's equivalent of a military coup: a market coup, which is a lot more dangerous than C.I.A. moviemakers.

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ECONOMY

For Technology, a Washington Sideshow

By LAWRENCE M. FISHER

LAST MONDAY, as the Department of Justice and 20 state Attorneys General filed their antitrust suits against the Microsoft Corporation, a question circulated among the venture capitalists huddled in partners meetings on Palo Alto's Sand Hill Road and other nerve centers of high-technology finance.

Is it safe again to invest in desktop software?

"I had that question posed to me yesterday for the first time in two years," said Roger B. McNamee, a principal in Integral Capital Partners, which invests in private and public technology companies. "It looks like it's almost time to take aim at Microsoft's core business, whether they're vulnerable or not. There isn't anything happening yet, but I expect entrepreneurs to focus on this, people who couldn't get funded before."

In recent years, venture capital has simply not been available for software start-ups focused on desktop applications, programming tools or, in your dreams, operating systems. New companies dancing at the edge of Microsoft's vision had to plug

along on their founders' savings or meager income from shareware licenses.

The lucky companies, like Vermeer Technologies Inc., developer of the Front Page program for creating Web sites, were acquired by Microsoft on rewarding terms; the unlucky ones died young.

But the landmark antitrust suits should prompt all technology investors to reconsider their strategies and to question the possible consequences of the suits for their portfolios.

For many investors, U.S. v. Microsoft leaves the landscape little altered from before. So far, 1998 has been a turbulent year for technology companies. Many face significant near-term challenges independent of the suits, which could take many years to play out.

Most analysts say the short-term consequences will likely be small, in terms of both harm to Microsoft's financial results and help to companies in its line of fire, like Netscape Communications or Novell.

As Mr. McNamee put it: "It doesn't make sense to invest in companies whose success depends on Microsoft's failure." That has not changed.

In the longer term, though, a Microsoft chastened, or at least dis-

tracted, by years of antitrust litigation may be less inclined to "cut off the air supply" of promising new software companies, as a now-famous internal company memorandum put it. But analysts say it is too early for most investors to identify those promising players.

Better to focus for now, they say, on software companies that have found growth areas outside the giant's core business, like supply chain management or sales force automation. Or better to look at companies that are developing ideas for overcoming the limitations of networks and telecommunications systems, the main choke points in computing today.

Most analysts also say that investors must contend with a number of broad issues confronting the technology group. Many of the industry's leading companies have reported disappointing financial results in recent quarters, including Intel, Compaq Computer and Hewlett-Packard.

Yet in most cases, prices of technology stocks remain high. No one wants to sit out the information age without owning some technology shares, but choosing stocks is more difficult than ever.

Bruce Lupatkin, director of technology research at Hambrecht & Quist, said he believed the long-term consequences of the suit would be positive.

"If it were to actually check some of the behavior of Microsoft, or Microsoft's sphere of influence got even marginally narrowed, it creates opportunities that wouldn't otherwise be there," he said. "It would fuel investment in a bunch of areas people are afraid of today."

But Mr. Lupatkin has a hard time finding technology shares to recommend right now. "If you look at business fundamentals, and then look at share prices, there is a bit of a dichotomy," he said. "The market certainly feels a bit topy, and everybody seems to be waiting."

"Communications and connectivity companies are doing very well, and likely to continue," he added, naming Cise Systems and Ascend Communications. "The companies to be avoided are the PC-centric folks."

A delay in the release of Microsoft's Windows 98 would inevitably delay some personal-computer purchases, but analysts say the PC makers are already in a slump for more fundamental reasons. One is a glut of inventory, largely created by Compaq as it moved to emulate Dell Computer's build-to-order business model. In cleaning out old product, Compaq packed dealers and distributors with deeply discounted machines that have yet to sell through to customers.

ANOTHER factor is the erosion of the historical link among microprocessor upgrades, new software releases and PC sales. Depending on which factor you see as more important, the PC slump may be half over, or just beginning. "I think we're largely through it," said John T. Rossi, a managing director at BancAmerica Robertson Stephens. He said he expects PC sales to rebound next year with the release of Microsoft's Windows NT 5.0 for corporate networks of computers. "Even though the near-term view is scary, this new operating system, even slowed down or changed by the Government, will likely lead to a good PC market next year."

Mr. Rossi said shares of the major PC companies and the component manufacturers had been beaten up enough to warrant buying them at current prices.

"Buy a list of leadership companies, like Seagate, Quantum, Intel, Micron," he said. "They actually stand out in an overvalued market. It's almost a value approach to technology issues."

But others see a more structural problem for the PC industry. It used to be that Intel would make faster microprocessors, Microsoft would enlarge its operating system, and customers would buy new PCs to run new applications that took advantage of the changes. But in an



The Government argues that Microsoft has a movie-monster habit of crushing competitors underfoot.

interconnected world, in which the speed limit is imposed not by the computer but by the home user's poky modem or the corporate customer's creaky network, a 300-megahertz Pentium is not likely to offer significant performance gains over a 166-megahertz chip. Intel has had to respond by dropping processor prices far more rapidly than in the past, and PC manufacturers have followed suit, to entice upgraders.

Investors seeking the next big growth opportunity may do best to focus on companies attacking this communications bottleneck, like purveyors of cable modems for home users or high-speed network switches for corporate environments, said Thomas Thornhill, director of technology research for Nationsbank Montgomery Securities. "Look at the entire infrastructure and identify the companies working to remove the constraints on performance," he said.

Among those companies, he likes Cisco, Lucent, Ciena, Tellabs, Ascend and 3Com. The sector "is very fragmented, and there are a wide range of alternatives," he said.

FOR more conservative investors, the regional Bell companies are a good play. Mr. Thornhill said, as they move from offering dial-tone to data services, Internet connections and video. "You take the lid off their revenue growth," he said.

But bandwidth plays are long-term investments. In the short term, many analysts fear that the technology market is headed for its habitual summer swoon, prompted by long European vacations and exacerbated this year by the Asian economic crisis.

"We're not going to have a great summer, for sure," said Michael Murphy, editor of the California Technology Stock Letter. "You still have the aftereffects of the inventory glut. Europe is doing O.K., but instead of getting better, it seems to be flattening. Japan isn't getting better at all."

Mr. Murphy is worried that the broad market remains overvalued and vulnerable to an Alan Greenspan-prompted crash. Mr. Murphy has protected the accounts he manages with index puts — options that pay off if the associated stock indexes fall — while remaining invested in technology stocks.

Mr. Murphy picks those stocks by identifying companies whose share prices are low relative to a combination of earnings and research-and-

development funds, a figure he calls growth flow. Companies he finds attractive on that measure include Adobe Systems, which he believes has benefited as Microsoft has been busy attacking Netscape on the Internet instead of taking on desktop publishing, where Adobe is dominant despite a weak first quarter.

"Adobe's not the biggest danger to them," he said.

He also likes Applied Materials, the big semiconductor equipment manufacturer; Cypress Semiconductor, and LSI Logic.

The growth flow approach, as explained by Mr. Murphy in his recent book, "Every Investor's Guide to High-Tech Stocks and Mutual Funds" (Broadway Books), is a variation on value investing. It is less concerned with identifying the next Microsoft than with buying quality companies that are currently undervalued by Wall Street.

Competing for technology investors' attention is "The Gorilla Game" (Harper Business), by Geoffrey A. Moore, Paul Johnson and Tom Kippola, whose thesis is that new technology markets naturally anoint leaders, or "gorillas," which define standards, grow very rapidly and dominate the market for decades as a result. Microsoft is the quintessential gorilla in software, but so is Intel in microprocessors, Cisco in networking equipment, Oracle in relational database software. The book says investors can gain by buying and holding gorilla stocks, regardless of their apparent value.

"Technology-driven markets self-generate monopolies," said Mr. Moore, who is chairman of the Chasm Group, a Silicon Valley marketing consulting firm. "That phenomenon isn't going to change, regardless of what the Government does."

Though Mr. Moore is not an investment adviser, he currently favors companies in supply chain management software, like Manugistics and I2 Technologies, and companies in sales force automation, like Siebel Systems, Vantive and Clarify.

"Find a category that is going into hypergrowth," Mr. Moore advised. "Rather than guess who is going to be the winner, buy every legitimate candidate and hold them until the market identifies the winner. When you see it has clearly won, sell the other shares and put the money into the gorilla, and hold it until the category is eliminated."

"The irony," he said, "is that at no point in that time will the gorilla look undervalued."

Microsoft Is Still a Giant, Analysts Say

By ROBERT HURTADO

THE Government's antitrust case against the Microsoft Corporation is expected to be long and arduous. Shareholders naturally wonder what it bodes for the stock.

On Wall Street, many analysts are cautiously optimistic for a fairly painless settlement, but they expect the stock to underperform in the meantime. Several money managers who hold the stock offered their takes on its prospects while the legal wheels turn, and thereafter:

• **The market usually overreacts.** Kevin Landis, portfolio manager for the Firsthand Technology Value fund and Technology Leaders fund in San Jose, Calif., said a snap market reaction to legal battles generally fades into irrelevance over time, as continued innovation renders disputes moot faster than they can be resolved.

"Discussions about Windows 95 and 98 will probably end up being a footnote five years from now," he said.

• **Plenty of upside remains.** Robert E. Turner, chief investment officer of Turner Investment Partners in Philadelphia, who manages the Turner Growth fund, said Microsoft's stock price could go up quite a bit even if the legal battle was long.

"There are a lot of deferred earnings associated with Windows 95, which makes the stock look undervalued" at current prices, Mr. Turner said, despite its high price-to-earnings ratio of 51.39.

Even if the Government prevails, Mr. Turner does not foresee a collapse in the stock; rather, he thinks it would become more of a market-average performer.

• **Microsoft isn't preoccupied.** Scott W. Schoelzel, a manager of the \$8.5 billion Janus Twenty fund in Denver, visited Microsoft last week and returned convinced that the company has a strong hand that it is playing well and that it will not be frozen by Justice Department scrutiny. "In the short run, the stock trades sideways," Mr. Schoelzel said, "because people need time to sort things out." But Microsoft has not lost credibility on Wall Street, he said.

• **The Government may settle for token concessions.** Philip J. Orlando, chief investment officer for Value Line Asset Management, said that Microsoft would not perform well until the black cloud of Government intervention had passed, but that pass it would. "I believe, with minor modifications, Microsoft will be the big winner," he said.

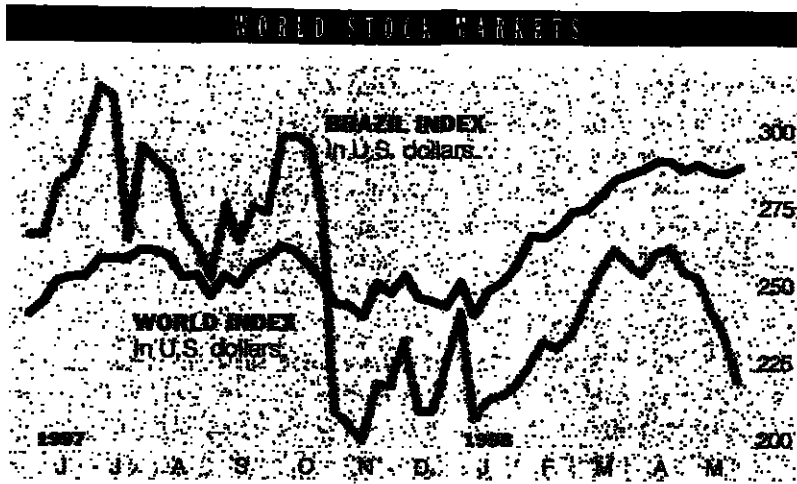
"Once the Government gets shot down, the stock soars" to \$110 this year and \$130 the next, he said. Microsoft closed on Friday at \$85.5625.

• **"Baby Bells" may be on the way.** Michael Murphy, editor of the California Technology Stock Letter in Half Moon Bay, Calif., brushed aside the short-term implications of the suit because Windows 98 is not vital to Microsoft's profits this year. But bigger threats loom.

"Once the Government starts down the line with antitrust concerns, they start focusing on companies and sectors, tending to break a company up, because it's the only instrument they have," he said. "Microsoft is an easy company to break up."

And that may not be bad: After AT&T was broken up in 1984, the Baby Bell stocks did well and shareholders benefited greatly, Mr. Murphy observed, but L.B.M. stock languished after it emerged in one piece from a 13-year antitrust investigation.

• **Big money may flee.** Microsoft is a bellwether company widely owned by institutions that emphasize short-term results, said Richard Cripps, chief market strategist at Legg Mason in Baltimore. Fears that Microsoft's growth may be cramped could lead them to sell and look elsewhere. But Microsoft has more than \$12 billion in cash and adds \$2 billion more a quarter, he noted. "It is simply one of the great franchises of our time."



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actives World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE		IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURR.	
Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.
Australia	201.00	-0.5	22	0.4	21	3.75	211.45	3.5
Austria	252.19	5.2	4	33.4	6	1.43	230.28	30.4
Belgium	354.83	-4.7	5	39.4	4	2.28	317.20	36.4
Brazil	222.74	-6.2	30	-6.6	23	2.15	472.16	-3.6
Britain	383.85	1.0	18	15.7	15	2.83	348.34	16.5
Canada	246.45	1.0	17	18.0	14	1.55	258.84	17.6
Denmark	509.73	3.9	9	13.9	18	1.30	484.37	11.4
Finland	441.27	1.1	16	58.4	1	1.85	494.71	55.4
France	324.86	2.3	12	35.7	5	1.96	300.32	33.0
Germany	301.72	3.9	8	31.5	8	1.19	275.67	28.5
Hong Kong	286.71	-0.5	23	-19.7	27	5.55	285.18	-19.7
Indonesia	37.11	15.7	1	-43.8	28	2.83	249.31	11.9
Ireland	531.08	-2.0	27	-32.3	7	1.86	522.63	31.7
Italy	170.88	3.2	10	45.1	2	1.27	220.91	42.2
Japan	94.61	0.6	19	-0.7	22	0.97	81.15	3.6
Malaysia	165.42	-0.3	21	0.6	20	2.69	241.79	-1.9
Mexico	1,518.39	-4.2	28	-15.8	25	1.70	14,351.00	-9.7
Netherlands	525.08	2.8	11	28.1	10	1.95	474.63	25.1
New Zealand	68.74	-0.6	24	-10.0	24	4.79	68.14	-2.5
Norway	331.38	-1.3	26	3.7	19	1.88	333.24	4.3
Philippines	94.68	4.3	7	19.4	12	1.14	182.37	15.6
Singapore	186.49	1.9	14	-17.2	26	2.16	140.56	-19.6
South Africa	313.30	-1.0	25	18.1	13	2.59	348.48	23.5
Spain	391.91	4.3	6	44.2	3	1.73	443.35	41.3
Sweden	608.67	2.2	13	29.6	9	1.69	692.84	25.6
Switzerland	408.68	1.4	15	19.9	11	1.09	370.55	20.2
Thailand	22.06	-5.0	29	14.3	16	8.14	33.68	-6.6
United States	452.95	-0.0	20	14.3	17	1.42	452.95	14.3

COMPOSITE INDICES						
Europe	364.29	2.2	26.0	1.96	341.63	24.7
Pacific Basin	102.79	0.5	- 2.9	1.69	88.62	0.6
Europe/Pacific	211.79	1.7	16.2	1.89	183.97	16.4
World	291.67	0.7	14.9	1.64	266.64	15.1

Sources: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1998 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

EXCHANGE RATES				
Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	135.90	134.52	+1.03	115.65
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.7597	1.7847	-1.40	1.6934
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.4499	1.4486	+0.09	1.3756
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6295	1.6271	+0.15	1.6345

Sources: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

May 18-22: Stocks Flat, Bonds Gain on Microsoft Suit, Fed Rate Inaction

PRICES

DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market	Up 0.16%
S&P 500 index	1,110.47
Blue chips	Up 0.20%
Dow 30 industrials	9,114.44
Small capitalization	Down 2.00%
Russell 2000 index	462.99

DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries	Up 0.38%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	218.07
Municipals	Up 0.33%
Bond Buyer index	123.28
Corporates	Up 0.38%
Menill Lynch Master Index	961.81

AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks	Up 2.25%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	364.29
Asian stocks	Up 0.46%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	102.79
Gold	Down 0.63%
New York cash price	\$300.00

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms.

YIELDS

BONDS

Long bonds	5.90%
30-year Treasuries	Down 7 basis pts.
Notes	5.61%
2-year Treasuries	Unchanged
Municipals	5.26%
Bond Buyer index	Down 2 basis pts.

100 basis points = 1 percentage point

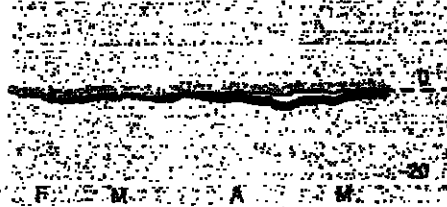
OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	5.03%
Taxable average	Up 6 basis pts.
Bank C.D.'s	4.98%
1-year small savers	Unchanged
Stocks	1.44%
S&P 500 dividend yield	Unchanged

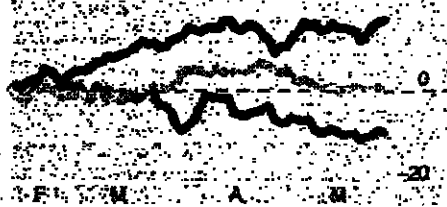
30-DAY RELATIVE TREND



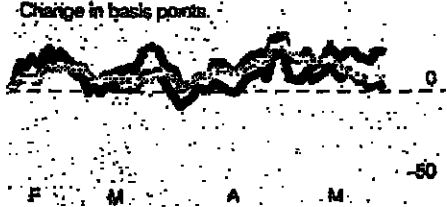
30-DAY RELATIVE TREND



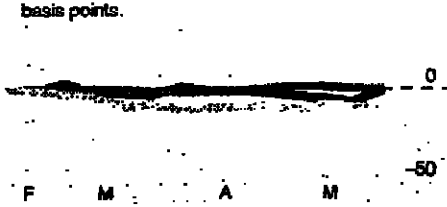
30-DAY RELATIVE TREND



30-DAY RELATIVE TREND



30-DAY RELATIVE TREND



The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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The Bulworth Critique

It would be nice to say that "Bulworth," Warren Beatty's new political farce, gives a distorted picture of the role of money in Washington. But the fact is the movie pretty well nails the real-life truth of campaign finance. Congress has crafted and is fighting to preserve a system of campaign finance that amounts to legalized bribery.

The movie's fictional hero, Senator Jay Bulworth, has to climb way up the manic curve before he can speak truth to a black audience about how he carries water for big donors. "I'm votin' in the Senate the way they want me to, and I'm sendin' 'em my bills," he says in rap rhythms. The movie goes on to make the venerable populist point that the black and white poor are both losers in a game controlled by corporate money. As someone who has hung around politics for a while, Mr. Beatty probably knew that he did not have to worry that news disclosures would shame either this Congress or this White House into changing its behavior before his movie could be released.

Taking from wealthy investors who want to influence government policy is timeless and bipartisan. House Speaker Newt Gingrich, for example, began his tenure by signing a \$4.5 million book contract with Rupert Murdoch. The criticism that forced him to cancel that contract achieved no permanent conversion. At this writing, Mr. Gingrich is trying to block the campaign-reform legislation being pushed by two members of his own party, John McCain in the Senate and Christopher Shays in the House.

Their bill would outlaw the "soft money" abuses that have put President Clinton in severe legal jeopardy. Yet Mr. Clinton's troubles have done nothing to deter the dependence on wealthy donors that is satirized in "Bulworth." Looking toward the 1998 elections, the Democratic National Committee has already collected \$35 million in soft money. The G.O.P. has soaked up \$59 million.

The bottom line is that Washington politicians have been willing to endure journalistic exposure

and any number of "Bulworths" to hold on to this money. But vigorous legal investigation of White House conduct during the 1996 election could change the legislative climate. Any recent Attorney General other than Janet Reno would have already appointed an independent counsel for the Chinese connection and other aspects of White House fundraising. But not even Ms. Reno's go-slow tactics have been able to stop disclosures about how Mr. Clinton's Chinese trade policy has helped the Democrats' biggest donor during the Clinton years.

Bernard Schwartz and his Loral Corporation have given over \$2 million. And Mr. Schwartz promoted his communications satellite business on trips to China with the late Commerce Secretary, Ron Brown. Defense officials opposed cooperating with China on commercial satellite launches. Mr. Clinton overruled them and the State Department and a launch followed in 1996. In February of this year, he allowed another launch over the objections of the Justice Department, which is investigating whether Loral turned over sensitive missile data to the Chinese.

Is Loral just lucky, or did its contributions — including \$632,000 from Mr. Schwartz personally to the D.N.C. — buy it the opportunity to export missile technology that was important to national security? The latter circumstance would be a violation of Federal bribery law, a possibility that Democrats in Congress took seriously enough to produce a 342-to-69 vote Thursday on a resolution demanding that the White House be more cooperative on investigations of the missile mess.

The Clinton-China story has moved at a gallop since The Times reported over a week ago about a \$100,000 Chinese Army contribution to the Clinton campaign through Johnny Chung, a regular White House visitor. Even if Ms. Reno keeps pulling back, the Congressional inquiries will go forward. But the real question is whether Congress can be shamed into changing the deeply corrupt system that drove poor old Bulworth crazy.

Peace Advances in Northern Ireland

With Friday's historic referendum on the peace accords, voters strongly endorsed a new politics for Northern Ireland, one in which differences are settled by political institutions instead of guns. It will take years to construct a permanent peace, but the vote was a vital down payment. Even though exit polls showed that Protestants were considerably less enthusiastic than Catholics, more than 70 percent of voters in Northern Ireland embraced a turn toward tranquility. That achievement and the prospect of further progress are not diminished because some voted no.

But in this hour of celebration, the difficulties ahead should not be forgotten. Because the change now begun in Northern Ireland is so pronounced, each new step will test the commitment of the people and their political leaders. Next month voters will elect delegates to an Assembly that gives Northern Ireland self-rule for the first time in 24 years. Later in the year, those delegates will join with leaders from the Irish Republic in a North-South body to work on matters like agriculture and transportation. Some of the Protestant opponents of the peace agreement hope to win election to the Assembly to scuttle the North-South body.

These saboteurs would be betraying the cause they hold most dear, majority rule. The most important principle of the peace agreement for Protestants, who outnumber Catholics, is that the North will not become part of Ireland without majority consent. They must now accept the fact that the majority wants working political institutions.

Another milestone comes with the marching season that begins in early July. Marches commemorating Protestant victories often go through neigh-

borhoods that are largely Catholic. They have often turned into violent confrontations. To reduce tensions, the British Government set up a commission, with Catholics and Protestants, to choose parade routes this year. All groups should pledge to abide peacefully by the plans when they are unveiled. The police, as well, must show restraint.

Long-term issues also pose dangers. Many Protestants opposed the agreement out of fear that the Irish Republican Army might resume terror attacks even as its political arm, Sinn Féin, joined the Assembly. The peace agreement is designed to prevent this. Only politicians affiliated with groups that have renounced violence can be elected. The same holds for prisoner releases. Only those affiliated with peaceful groups will be freed during the next two years. Protestants should demand more specific guarantees to insure that, for example, I.R.A. members do not pass explosives to a splinter group while claiming their hands are clean. The British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has promised such laws.

The most serious threat to the peace process lies in the stores of explosives and arms still held by paramilitary groups on both sides. In signing the agreement, all groups pledged to work in good faith for disarmament. This falls considerably short of a promise to disarm. The I.R.A. recently reiterated that it will not turn in its weapons.

As Catholics begin to see other changes, like police reform, the I.R.A. may be more willing to disarm. But this cannot be optional. Eventually, the Assembly may have to bar the political affiliates of groups that refuse to turn over their weapons. The message of Friday's vote is that peaceful politics is not a tactic, but a new culture for Northern Ireland.

Editorial Observer/GAIL COLLINS

Campaigning for Office on the Mommy Track

Massachusetts was buzzing this month with news that Jane Swift, a Republican candidate for lieutenant governor, is pregnant. Congratulations were not necessarily in order. "The surprising thing is the way people keep telling me: 'I defended you,'" says Ms. Swift, who was unaware until recently that her condition needed defending. Talk-radio callers claimed mothers-to-be should be nesting, not campaigning. An executive of the Christian Coalition predicted that Ms. Swift's pregnancy would spark discussions about whether children were better off at home with their parents or in "institutional day care."

This is ironic, considering that Ms. Swift could not be planning her situation better. Forget the Family Leave Act. If Congress really wanted to do right by the working mother, the Federal Government would guarantee her the option of serving as a lieutenant governor until her youngest child entered first grade. What other job combines pay, pres-

Finally, a reason
to want to be
lieutenant governor.

tige and high visibility with a flexible schedule, low pressure and — face it — almost no actual duties? Lieutenant governors normally make up for the fact that they have nothing to do by covering for the main guy at political banquets and ribbon-cuttings. But if Ms. Swift wins the job and decides to cut back on the number of chicken dinners she attends, no taxpayer is going to complain about being underserved.

No candidate for lieutenant governor, of course, is going to admit that the job is the ultimate mommy track. Nor is Ms. Swift echoing a political associate's jubilation that when it comes time for debates, Democrats are not going to want to beat up on a woman who is eight

months pregnant. "We have to get beyond my uterus," Ms. Swift said, breaking new ground in the annals of political sloganeering.

At 33, Ms. Swift is part of a new generation of female politicians who seek office as early as their male counterparts instead of waiting until their families are established. That means more pregnant candidates and mothers of young children running for election, and the Congresses and state legislatures of the future will probably be more sensitive to issues like day care and preschool education as a result. About a decade ago, only 41 of the 535 senators and representatives had children under 14. Of those, a grand total of five had working spouses. It was not a crowd conditioned by life experience to wonder what folks did with their kids when the public schools closed for Presidents' Day.

Those numbers have improved, and pregnant candidates may be another good reminder that this country has become economically de-

Crack Down on Rage, Not Guns

To the Editor:

Once again, a child has taken a gun to school and fired on his innocent classmates. Once again, gun control advocates are crying out for tighter restrictions on guns (editorial, May 22). Wouldn't it be more profitable, and more compassionate, to try to learn what is causing the intense rage in our young people that moves them to murder?

If we just take away guns, these troubled people will still be walking around, suffering and inflicting their suffering on those around them. It is time to look at what we are teaching our children through entertainment, parenting and leadership models. These incidents are not the result of too many guns. Years ago guns were much easier to come by legally but there were no constant shooting rampages. The problem is in ourselves, and that is where it must be confronted.

JOHN DRACY
Fair Lawn, N.J., May 22, 1998

Unheard Cries for Help

To the Editor:

Re "Guns in the Schools" (editorial, May 22), on the Springfield, Ore., shootings: Your quest for gun lockdown in homes with children is valid. But your last sentence makes a better point: the first hint of danger that such a child expresses should not be scoffed at.

However, many overtaxed school districts have reduced guidance counseling to ineffective mandates. Thus pre-emptive threats of violence go unheard or ignored. We should not cast aside the traditional educational needs of all students in order to wire schools for the Internet, groom basketball stars or wrangle with teachers' unions.

Unobservant parents, overworked or lackadaisical school staff and insensitive peers are to blame for such disasters, which unfortunately are becoming vogue with the "out" crowd. I wonder how long before a copycat scenario occurs, which of course will be only a response to an unheard call for help.

WILLIAM T. FREDERICK
East Aurora, N.Y., May 22, 1998

Too Easy to Get Guns

To the Editor:

People are quick to blame all of the recent teen-age shootings on the media (news article, May 22). People say that because of the violence on television and in movies, teen-agers go out and shoot their classmates.

I am 14 years old. I watch a lot of violence on television and in movies, and I have never had any inkling to go out and kill my peers. These killings were not because of violence in the media. They occurred because guns were available to teen-agers in the communities, and there was not

more control on who could get them.

To stop this outburst of shootings, there needs to be stronger gun control for children, especially in areas where hunting and guns are a way of life.

SARAH SCHILLACI
Ridgewood, N.J., May 22, 1998

Enforce the Laws

To the Editor:

How can we expect to control guns in the schools by making new laws (editorial, May 22) when we cannot even control tobacco or drugs in those same schools? Unfortunately, the only way we can reduce the number of guns in the schools is with metal detectors and police.

More than 200 million guns are floating around the country today. They would be available for many years even if no new guns were manufactured. As is the case with illegal drugs, guns are available throughout the world and will cross our borders as easily as drugs do.

It is already illegal to sell guns and ammunition to minors. Enforce these laws and put violators in jail for long terms.

HORACE REID JR.
Cincinnati, May 22, 1998

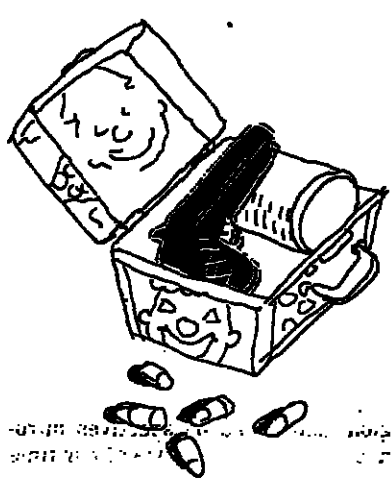
Violence in the Media

To the Editor:

In a May 22 news article on school violence, experts discuss the amount of violence that children are absorbing from movies and television. I can just hear the entertainment moguls crying that they don't have anything to do with it and that their products do not influence the behavior of those children.

Yet on the same day a front-page article describes the big impact that tobacco ads have on people. The hypocrisy of the entertainment industry is clear: if the violence in movies and on television does not influence behavior, why do businesses pay big money to advertise there?

CHARLOTTE, N.C., May 22, 1998



Wesley Bechtel

Suharto's 'Painful' Fall? Not for Indonesians

To the Editor:

Your May 21 front-page coverage of President Suharto's resignation in Indonesia says that Mr. Suharto "smiled and walked down a line of judges, smiling and shaking their hands," and notes that "throughout the brief and painful ceremony this morning, Mr. Suharto never lost the gentle smile."

Perhaps it can make us all feel hopeful to know that a man who spent more than 30 years slaughtering citizens of Indonesia (half a million killed in his crackdown on leftists in 1965) and East Timor (tens of thousands killed since Mr. Suharto's invasion in 1975) can still smile so gently.

For whom, exactly, was Mr. Suharto's resignation so "painful"? One can assume it was painful for Mr. Suharto and for any remaining friends in the United States Government who helped bring him to power. However, I seriously doubt that many Indonesians feel much pain at seeing Mr. Suharto resign in disgrace.

JEREMY CHATZKY
Brooklyn, May 22, 1998

To the Editor:

Your May 21 front-page analysis of the Indonesian people's movement against President Suharto leaves the impression that "people power" is

generally not successful against a Communist regime or a regime willing to use substantial violence.

The historical record of major conflicts in the 20th century shows that nonviolent sanctions used by civilian movements have been crucial and often decisive in determining the outcome of events.

When a military dictator in El Salvador appointed himself to a fourth presidential term in 1994 after previously using violence to quell an insurrection, the Salvadoran people went on general strike and, without a shot being fired, the dictator was ousted in a month. In the 1980's, when Solidarity in Poland and the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia precipitated wholesale political changes in their countries, they prevailed — also without using violence — against Communist regimes.

JACK DUVALL
Alexandria, Va., May 21, 1998

To the Editor:

"Suharto's Stealthy Fate: Globalizing Capitalism" (news article, May 20) does not mention a second vital element in the current world revolution: the spread of the ideas of equality and democracy.

Although capitalism may be creating the conditions and imperatives that lead to the demand for more open economies and political systems in Asia, Latin America and Africa, there is more. We should not underestimate the importance of the worldwide diffusion of the idea that all people are equal, that they do not need to be ruled by kings, emperors, presidents-for-life, commissars, rajahs or patriarchs.

HERBERT S. LEWIS
Madison, Wis., May 20, 1998

The writer is professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin.

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Congress Must Lead Inquiry on China

To the Editor:

Your May 21 editorial calling for an independent counsel to take over the investigation of the Democrats' connection to Chinese money ignores several important points.

First, on issues of national security, the legislative branch clearly has jurisdiction over a criminal investigation. And Congress's need to know if we should adjust our intelligence, defense planning and other national security issues must override a three-, four- or five-year wait for a criminal trial.

Second, your assertion that "weak laws" invited this scandalous practice is false. It is, and has been, illegal to accept foreign money. These were already illegal contributions.

Third, the need for an independent counsel into campaign finance violations is something that I continue to support. But that cannot be allowed to compel the United States to remain uninformed about potential dangers to our national security.

NEWTON GINGRICH
Speaker of the House
Washington, May 21, 1998

A Waste of Effort

To the Editor:

Re your May 21 editorial railing against the Clinton Administration for alleged improprieties regarding Chinese campaign donations: Time and again you have called for investigations into various alleged affairs of state regarding the ethics of Bill Clinton's Administration. That you have so quickly jumped on issue after issue seems to suggest that such grave deeds are indeed being committed by the White House.

Do you seriously believe that Mr. Clinton knowingly sold out to the Chinese for \$300,000? Are you seriously under the impression that campaign finance abuse is something that isn't participated in by virtually all elected officials? Do you really believe that it is worth the time, money and attention to have another investigation into allegations that were explored earlier in the year?

JOHN RUBIN
Nyack, N.Y., May 22, 1998

Let Chinese Pay

To the Editor:

All the hue and cry over alleged Chinese purchases of American political influence through campaign contributions is causing this country to miss a fantastic economic opportunity (editorial, May 21). Influence peddling is as old as our democratic institutions; indeed, it can be fairly said that the United States has the best legislators money can buy.

We should be encouraging the Chinese to pay for our bloated political campaigns; better than that Americans. This xenophobic reflex to keep our politics free of foreign interference is not only hypocritical in light of our penchant for interfering in other countries' politics, but it is also contrary to our own interests.

STANLEY LETOVSKY
Baltimore, May 22, 1998

Security on Satellites

To the Editor:

"The New China Connection" (editorial, May 17) is wrong to call Hughes Electronics a "major" donor to the Democratic Party. Hughes employees voluntarily contribute to a political action committee that makes Federal donations more or less evenly between the Republicans and the Democrats.

Likewise, "How the Chinese Won Rights to Launch Satellite for U.S." (front page, May 17) was misleading about our policies and practices. Our scientists did not and would not participate in any effort intended to help the Chinese improve their launch capabilities. We take our obligations to United States national security very seriously.

Hughes has always been careful not to provide the Chinese Government with access to any impermissible technological information when launching satellites on Chinese rockets. Our satellites are never touched by the Chinese, nor are any of the technological components, which are shielded by a metal casing, ever seen by the Chinese. From the time a satellite leaves United States soil until the moment it is launched into space, it is handled only by Americans under the oversight of the Department of Defense.

MARCY J. K. TIFFANY
Vice Pres. and General Counsel
Hughes Electronics
El Segundo, Calif., May 21, 1998

Privacy Law Details

To the Editor:

William Safire's assertion (column, May 21) that Monica S. Lewinsky had "what the law calls a 'reasonable expectation of privacy'" in her phone conversations with Linda R. Tripp is incorrect. The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that no one has a reasonable expectation that conversations with another person will not be repeated, recorded or transmitted by that listener.

Rather, the Court has said, we all assume the risk that those with whom we speak, whether in person or by phone, might divulge what we say. That such behavior might be faithless, or in some larger sense unethical, has not prevented it from being found constitutional.

DANIEL J. STEINBOCK
Toledo, Ohio, May 21, 1998
The writer is a professor of law at the University of Toledo.

THE JERUSALEM POST

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

A Hug From Bill And Tony

HOLYWOOD, Northern Ireland
There is an old Gaelic saying, "Never bolt the door with a boiled carrot."

At this astonishing moment in Irish history, as centuries of grudges and dreams collide, we can only pray that this island is firmly bolting the door on the "bitter furies of complexity" conjured up by Years.

It appears that Northern Ireland's story heart has begun to melt, that the people here have finally broken their cycle of fatalism, trading darkness for light, past for future.

Catholics and Protestants were too caught up in their bloody cat's cradle to ever untangle themselves. It required a courageous leap of faith of Northern Ireland's Gerry Adams and David Trimble and John Hume. This triumph of hope over history also required some generous meddling.

The impossible never could have become possible without Tony Blair and Bill Clinton. It is funny to think of these chatty baby boomers teaching the vengeful Irish the meaning of — may the saints preserve us — closure. The yuppie leaders bravely waded in, determined to gentrify this blighted neighborhood, incongruously applying New Age methods to ancient tribal conflicts. Their shiny millennial plans made Ian Paisley, wearing a tie inscribed with "No, No, No" and ranting about papist plots, seem even more a relic of the Reformation.

The Irish do not believe in therapy. They prefer to make confessions in a dark box. Yet, Bill Clinton, with his psychobabble, self-revelation and New Age gurus, appointed himself the facilitator of Belfast's blood feud. He put the Irish on the couch. He felt their pain.

The President took on a land that clings to superstition, to the mysteries of imagination and the unconscious, to the sops of alcohol and bitterness. He forced Northern Ireland to bring its atavistic fears and prejudices out into the open, prodding the enemies toward the negotiating table.

With their youth and middle-class backgrounds, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Blair were not "bored," as many American and British leaders before them, by World War II experiences or romantic notions of Empire and Pimm's Cup. They were fond of focus groups and high-tech wizardry, not fusty tradition.

Mr. Clinton's triangulation and Mr. Blair's "third way" moved from black-and-whites to the blurry middle of consensus. Their politics of expediency was just what polarized Ireland needed.

British prime ministers had long used "the special relationship" with America to persuade Presidents — even those with Irish roots like John Kennedy — to stay away from the Irish problem. Irish Catholics muttered that the clocks at the State Department were set to London time.

But Bill Clinton, spurred by revenge — a motive the Irish would

New Age, old feud.

appreciate — never felt kindly toward John Major after the Tories rummaged through his passport files in 1992 to help the Bush campaign.

Certainly Mr. Clinton was happy to please Irish-American voters. But he also seemed to have been motivated by a genuine emotional pull toward the Irish, who bathed him with love during his 1995 visit. He took a difficult issue and trusted his gut. He had to overcome severe resistance in his own Government and face down the fury of the British to grant Gerry Adams a visa to come to America in 1994.

Mr. Clinton looks prescient now, but if the I.R.A. had gone back to its old atrocities, he would have been accused of encouraging terrorism.

The President's involvement provided an unspoken guarantee: Any British bad behavior or Unionist backsliding would come at some cost.

When Mr. Blair, a Clinton acolyte, came into office, the two men teamed up on a revolutionary notion: Northern Ireland was not a problem without a solution. The stiff upper lip gave way to empathetic lip-biting.

Mr. Blair's focus groups showed that he was the one leader voters in every group tended to trust. So he came back three times, making an earnest and passionate case for peace.

"Northern Ireland is the one subject where I can wake up in the middle of the night and worry," he said. Mr. Clinton, too, stayed up all night as the Good Friday peace agreement was forged, massaging recalcitrant participants.

As for closure, the Irish being the Irish, they'll take it one day at a time.

The Most Religious Century

By Michael Novak

IT WAS HARDLY AN opinion one expected to hear from Norman Mailer. "Religion to me is now the last frontier," the writer said in a recent interview.

These words are almost as surprising in their way as Vaclav Havel's assertion last fall about today's crisis of moral responsibility in this "first atheistic civilization in the history of humankind." The crisis, he said, is the result of our loss of the feeling that "the Universe, nature, existence and our lives are the work of a creation guided by a definite intention."

When Mr. Mailer and Mr. Havel, ripe with years and not particularly known as pious men, join in emphasizing the new importance of religion, and evoke perspectives introduced into the literature of our time by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, you may be sure that the 21st century will be the most religious in 500 years.

A sea change in the realm of ideas helps make this so. Of the three great intellectual struggles of the bloody century now passing, two have been resolved, while the reckoning on the third has been postponed.

The first challenge was political, and took this form: dictatorship is better for people, especially the poor, than democracy. This idea swept large portions of the globe — until the dictators committed unspeakable abuses against humanity. While many dictators remain in power, no one today (except, perhaps, Fidel Castro) argues that dictatorship is the wave of the future.

The second challenge was economic: socialism is better for poor people than capitalism. No practical person today accepts that boast. Socialist countries are rushing to absorb capitalist insights, practices and reforms, precisely to improve the economic conditions of their poverty-stricken populations.

But suppose that every country in the world succeeds in adopting a free political system and a free economic system. Then the third great challenge asserts itself: how, then, shall we live? How must we live, to preserve free societies and to be worthy of the blood and the pain? This is the unfinished business of our century, and serious thinkers have begun to take it up.

Another reason that moral and religious questions have come to the forefront is this: For some five centuries, a leading secular elite has held that moral questions can be resolved on the plane of reason alone. Some still believe that. But it has become ever more apparent that such a belief is only a belief, a faith, a kind of religion of its own.

For who, looking at the butcher's bench that was the 20th century, finds it self-evident that reason is adequate to its own defense? That reason is in tune with nature, history or even itself? All around us, postmodernists, nihilists and relativists have been assuring us that reason has no particular grip on reality. Against this onslaught, reason has not defended itself well. This inadequacy is the more apparent when one thinks not of the rare individual but of the whole social order, in all its teeming varieties of passion, ignorance, ambition and talent.

These reflections suggest why our present crisis is better described as religious, or at least as moral and religious, rather than simply as moral alone. For the underlying question is deeper than moral. Why are our

Michael Novak, a theologian at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author, with his daughter Jana, of the forthcoming "Tell Me Why: A Father Answers His Daughter's Questions About God."

sentiments about justice so strong? Why do we long for universal amity? Why should we be moral, especially when no one is looking and no one is harmed and no one will ever know? Secular humanism gave us answers for 500 years that no longer

At the millennium, secular humanism shows its limits.

seem adequate even to many who tried hard to be faithful to them. That is why so many far-seeing souls announce that we have come to the edge of the Enlightenment and are stepping forth into something new, untried, not yet transparent.

This brings us to a third reason for the rising preoccupation with religion. Faith in reason alone had as its premise the belief that humans are not naturally religious, but naturally irreligious. Therefore, to be religious was in some way to be alienated from oneself and to exhibit a form of weakness. The fearful might cling to a blanket or need a crutch, but not the free and the brave, not the mature.

Today, however, the religious question arises most insistently among some of the most successful and the most powerful, and not at their moments of weakness but during their hours of greatest triumph — in the arts (Mailer), in politics (Havel) and in every other field. Just then, just when they have achieved everything they once thought would make them happy, they bump into their own finitude — and their infinite hunger. I have seen this happen to many acquaintances. "There must be more to it than this!" is the essential cry of the human heart.

In brief, some of the leading spirits of our age have begun to sense that humans are naturally religious. They have learned that to discover God, one does not have to be driven down on all fours. Today it is often the brightest and the most able and the most fortunate who are becoming aware of their true nature. This very nature sings to them of God.

For Americans especially, every return to first principles brings us back to convictions central to this republic. Why are we so ardent about the separation of church and state? Not because we are irreligious but precisely the opposite. Our founders knew, as we know, that the fundamental human drama occurs in the depths of every human will. Lord Acton, the great historian of liberty, held that the idea of liberty is coincident with the history of Judaism and Christianity. Without liberty, Judaism and Christianity are empty, just as they are empty if reason is destroyed.

Thus it is that Norman Mailer begins to speak, tentatively and indirectly, not merely of "religion," but of Judaism and Christianity. In these two traditions, reason and faith spring from the same stream. The death of either reason or liberty means death for them, too.

Suppose, finally, that in the 21st century, the findings of science and the reflections of religion, particularly of Jews and Christians, converge as they have not done for 500 years. Suppose, too, that scientists begin approaching religions in an empirical frame of mind, instead of adversarially, and begin to search out fruitful hypotheses in them, instead of trying to replace them with a rival Weltanschauung.

Quietly, this already seems to be happening in practical spheres like

medicine and in theoretical spheres like physics. Mutual respect sometimes goes a lot further than automatic hostility. In such a context, even conflict and disagreement bear great intellectual fruits, as all parties struggle to go deeper and to start again in a fresh way.

Last year, Vaclav Havel darkly suggested that modern science grew up within the context of a surrounding Jewish and Christian culture, one of whose deepest convictions is that everything that exists proceeds from insight and love — the active powers of one Creator — and thus is subject to fruitful inquiry: everything is made to be understandable by those who have the wit to inquire. Inquiry is an altogether fitting response to the Creator.

We have come through a long and bloody century, and something new is stirring everywhere. It is none too soon.

Unwarranted Tactics

In America

BOB HERBERT

Nearly eight years have passed and the city still has not produced the warrant that allowed nearly a dozen police officers to invade the Bronx apartment of Tayibat Akande, a pregnant woman with no criminal record who was hauled away in handcuffs and thrown in jail on a false charge of drug dealing.

The cops apparently got a weak tip from a postal inspector and went after Mrs. Akande as if she were an international crime lord. In fact, she was a hard-working, law-abiding woman who would give birth in two months to her first child.

The cops said that some postal inspector — the arresting officer's memory is vague on this — had said an envelope containing heroin and addressed to Mrs. Akande's husband, Sikiru, had been intercepted. The envelope had come from Nigeria, the couple's original home.

The envelope actually contained a perfectly legal Nigerian remedy for morning sickness, but nobody bothered to check that out. Too much trouble. Better to take a chance on trampling the rights of the innocent.

The raid was staged on Nov. 2, 1990. A postal inspector posed as a mail carrier and delivered the envelope to the apartment. Mrs. Akande, wearing a nightgown, signed for it and the inspector left. A few minutes later someone knocked at the door again. When Mrs. Akande opened the door, the police came pouring in. They shoved Mrs. Akande against a wall and began ransacking the apartment.

It happened that Mrs. Akande was on the phone with her husband, who had called from his job in Brooklyn, when the police came in. A cop picked up the phone and spoke to Mr. Akande, who immediately left work and headed home.

A female officer took Mrs. Akande into the bathroom and ordered her to strip. Her body cavities were searched for drugs.

There were no drugs in Mrs. Akande or in her apartment, but the police arrested her anyway. They said they believed there were drugs in the envelope, which had not been opened. Mrs. Akande was allowed to get dressed and then was taken away in handcuffs.

Her neighbors, she would say later, were "surprised." She said she was weeping and felt "humiliated."

Mrs. Akande was charged with criminal possession of a controlled substance and criminal possession

with intent to sell. She faced 8½ to 25 years on each count.

That was on a Friday. On Saturday, with Mrs. Akande still in jail awaiting arraignment, police lab tests determined that the envelope contained nothing illegal. But Mrs. Akande was not released. She was not freed until a judge let her go on her own recognizance on Sunday night. And it was more than a month before the charges against Mrs. Akande were dropped.

A trial will begin later this week on a civil suit brought by the Akandes against the city and the Police Department. They are represented by

A woman is jailed on mere rumor.

the Manhattan attorneys Marvin Salenger and Robert Sack.

Mr. Salenger said the case was bad from the very beginning because the cops used "hearsay upon hearsay," rather than solid police work, as the basis for the arrest.

When the arresting officer, Detective Thomas Larkin, was deposed in connection with the suit, he was asked, "Before you went in, did you know anything at all about the people who were in this apartment?"

He said, "No."

He was asked, "Do you know if they had a prior record?"

He said, "No."

He was asked if he knew "if they were ever suspected of any prior drug smuggling."

He said, "No."

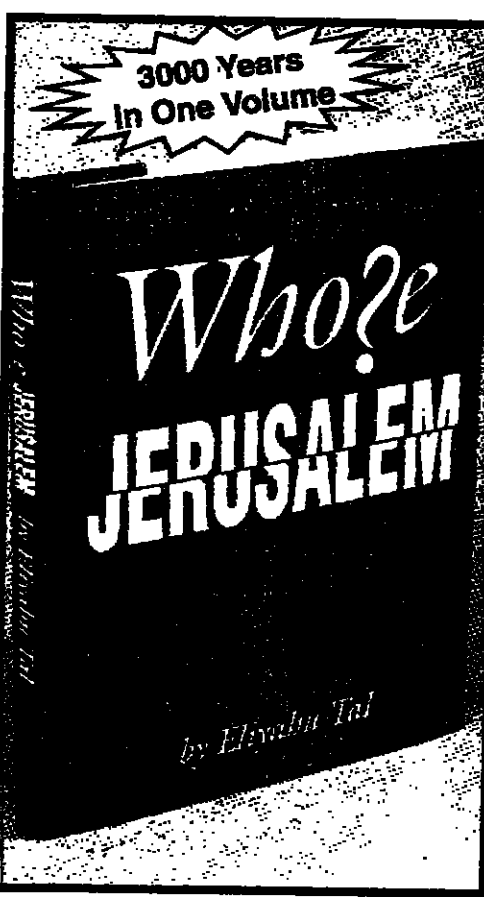
At another point, the interrogator said: "So, you obtained the search warrant that you swore to, in fact, without ever having seen the package, is that correct?"

"I was aware," said Detective Larkin, "that the package existed." This is the basis for the arrest of someone on a charge that could put her away for decades.

"Even as we speak," said Mr. Salenger, "the city still has not given us a copy of the search warrant. We have no proof that there was a valid search warrant, and certainly there was no arrest warrant."

Mr. Sack said the city and the Police Department are being sued for false arrest, malicious prosecution, and assault and battery. The couple is seeking damages of \$5 million.

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THE ARTS

Far From the Tea Ceremony, Films at the Heart of Japan

By DONALD RICHIE

TOKYO
 I AM interested in the relationship of the lower part of the human body and the lower part of the social structure," the Japanese director Shohei Imamura once said. "This is where the reality of daily Japanese life supports itself."

It would follow that the "real" Japan is not, then, the world of refined estheticism of the tea ceremony and the flower arrangement. Indeed, Imamura's people do not behave like the cultured "Japanese" we often see in the movies because none of the rules of order and decorum insisted upon by Japan's upper-class official version apply.

Mr. Imamura's people are always from the so-called lower classes. They have no samurai ancestors and don't know the meaning of fidelity or loyalty. They are, rather, utterly natural and to that extent "uncivilized," if civilization means a removal from the natural. Mr. Imamura's people are lusty, amoral, innocent, impulsive, and all of the vitality of Japan, the director has held, comes from their numbers.

In a career comprising 16 feature films and 7 documentaries, Mr. Imamura's interest in the "real" Japanese has been remarkably consistent, something that will be abundantly clear in "The Lower Depths: The Cinema of Shohei Imamura," a series of 16 films being presented Wednesday through June 11 at New York's Walter Reade Theater at Lincoln Center. From the woman out to get ahead in his first important film, "Pigs and Battleships" (1961), through the farm girl clawing her way to the top in "The Insect Woman" (1963) and the wife using rape to

just look around you."

Another reason for these women's strength is that they, like Mr. Imamura's people in general, are marginalized, stigmatized — a woman has to be strong to get ahead.

"The women who have marked me most in life," Mr. Imamura once said, "are the lower-class women I met during my black-market days. They weren't educated and they were vulgar and lusty, but they were also strongly affectionate, and they instinctively confronted their own sufferings. I grew to admire them enormously. My wife is a bold, strong woman, too, and I respect her a great deal."

Mr. Imamura was describing the kind of woman he intended to portray in "Intentions of Murder" when he wrote: "Medium height and weight, light coloring, smooth skin. The face of a woman who loves men. Maternal, good genitals." But the description covers all of his women. The sexual emphasis is strong. She likes to make love. At the same time, or perhaps consequently, she is maternal.

This is very like Imamura. Many Japanese men (many men in general) would never make the connection between genitals and Mother. That one is the result of the other is a conclusion that must not occur. Mother is a sacred object, and Mother's sexuality is not a thought upon which many men dwell. But sexuality is basic to human nature, even Mother's, of course. Men may and do try to deny this, but most women, particularly Mr. Imamura's women, would never attempt anything this moralistic. They do not believe in the petty tribal laws that govern Japanese men, or men in general.

Mr. Imamura's straightforward attitude toward this subject perhaps influences the extraordinary realism of his films, a style that though carefully calculated and created, often looks like life itself. His frame is filled with incessant movement, with odd things going on up in the corner, with the kind of clutter that makes us think not of Zen temples and landscaped Kyoto gardens but of the real Japan.

This is the kind of realism that Mr. Imamura defined when he said: "I have a preference for shooting true things. If my films are messy, it is probably due to the fact that I don't like too perfect a cinema. The audience must not admire the technical aspects of my filmmaking as they would a computer or the laws of physics."

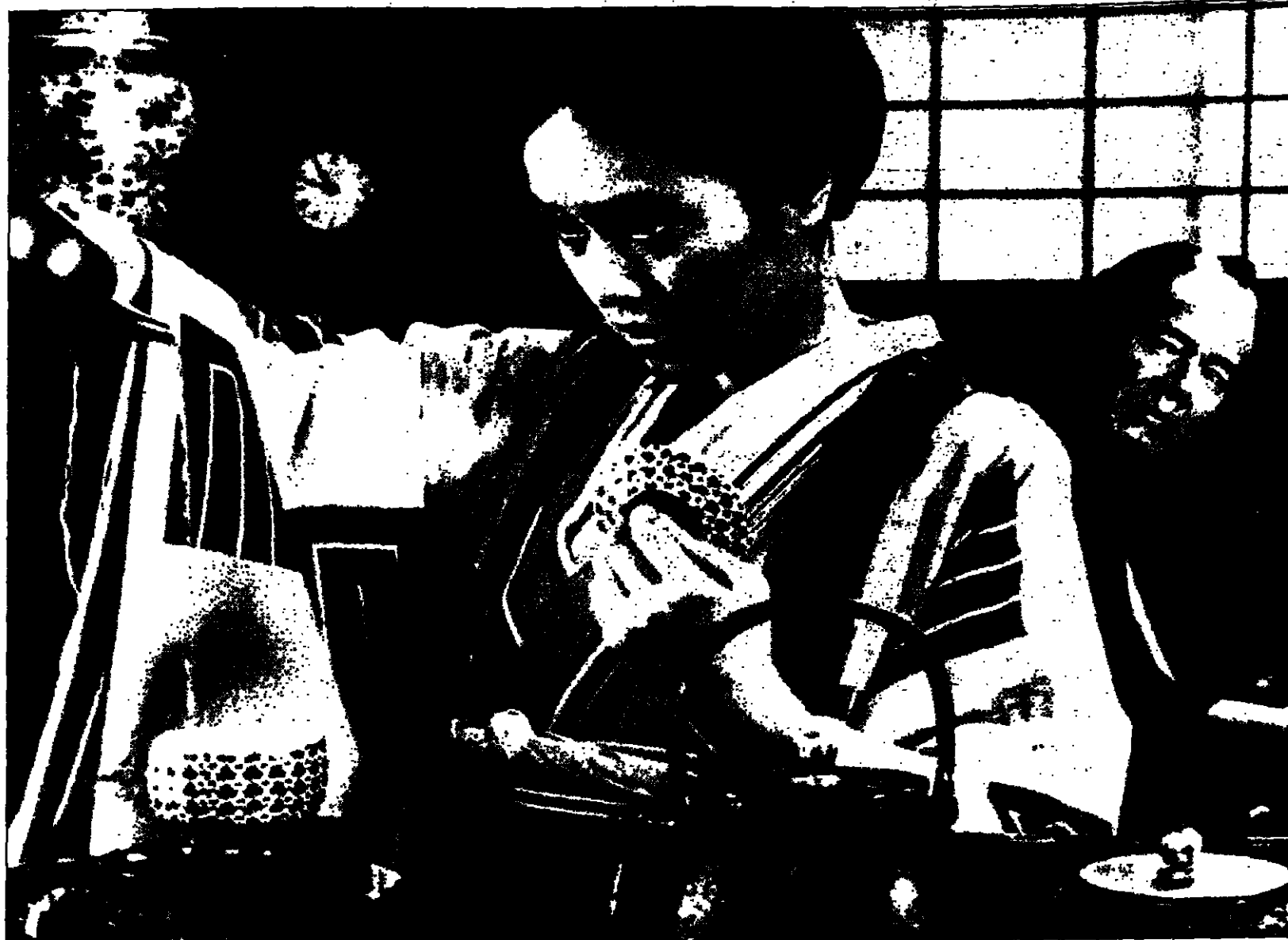
When he told a Japanese critic that he wanted to make "really human, really Japanese, really unsettling films," Mr. Imamura implied that the well-made, well-plotted, endlessly reconciling Japanese film is not really Japanese. Though the apparently spontaneous appearance of an Imamura picture is actually the result of much planning, he does not, indeed, like the cinematically tidy.

This attitude was perhaps the real reason for his decision as a young man to stop working with the renowned director Yasujiro Ozu. Mr. Imamura had been the lowliest assistant director on several Ozu pictures, including the masterpiece "Tokyo Story," until he got up and left.

Ostensibly it was because of the older director's directorial way with actors. Actually — given the look of Mr. Imamura's own films — it may have been the neat, orderly, estheticized look of the Ozu picture.

Or it may have been something altogether different. In the midst of filming the scene in "Tokyo Story" in which the mother suffers a stroke, Mr. Imamura, whose own mother had recently died in this manner, had to go into a men's room to cry. Minutes later, Ozu went in, to use the toilet, and asked the weeping young man if he had got the details right.

Mr. Imamura at the time thought this was a monstrously unfeeling question, enough to make him walk off the set, but he now sees why Ozu



Yohji Kono, foreground, and Shigeru Tsuyguchi in "What the Hell!" (1981) — Mr. Imamura's films have characters who are impulsive and vital.

had to ask. "That is what a real director has to do," he said recently, naming the older director as one of the two important influences on his work.

Certainly, the younger director shares with the older a basic view of continuity. He has, for example, no use for plot, preferring a series of stories, or scenes, loosely interconnected. Ozu famously said that plot used people and to use was to misuse.

The other great influence on Mr. Imamura was the next director with whom he worked: Yuzo Kawaishima, a man whose work is almost unknown in the West, who loved chaos and who filled his pictures ("Suzaku Paradise," "Temple of the Wild Goose," "The Sun Legend," the last with a script by Mr. Imamura) with a most lifelike clutter and disorder — just the sort of "messy" product that Mr. Imamura learned so well to make.

Kawaishima's subject was resolutely the "other," the real Japan. His pictures are filled with whores and pimps, petty gangsters, girls on the make — people who, given few choices, chose what worked. It was from being apprenticed to Kawaishima that Mr. Imamura discovered his subject.

From him he also learned that showing people as they are is enough. In particular, he learned as he put it, "to avoid the trap of only explaining a character."

"I want to capture the smallest action, the finest nuance, the most intimate psychological expression," he added. "Filmmakers must concern themselves with more than facades. Thus, when I use close-ups, I get as close as I can."

In more senses than one, The intimate full-face shots of Sachiko Hidarai remembering her barnyard girlfriend, of Masumi Harukawa at the icebox, of Misa Shimizu looking at the murderer and loving him — these suggest more than acceptance; they imply a wholehearted admiration for these "strong, greedy, humorous, deceitful people who are very human in their qualities and

their failings."

The rutting peasants in "The Ballad of Narayama"; the morose murderer in "The Eel," which will be released in American theaters in August; the possessed wartime physician in the new "Doctor Liver," which was just shown at the Cannes Film Festival, are all distinguished by their common humanity. Even when the ultimate occurs, as it does to the A-bomb-tainted girl in "Black Rain," the only Imamura film known by many Americans, these people

struggle on.

Mr. Imamura's admiration of this endurance in the face of official rectitude has more than once raised a stink in Japan. Critics once commonly condemned the director's films as *ningen kusai*, a term that might be translated as "reeking with humanity." Yet it is just this honesty about the human condition that has resulted in the director's two Palmes d'Ors at Cannes as well as his numerous other prizes and honors.

The honesty continues. Pointing

out a modern Tokyo skyscraper that has a small Shinto shrine on the roof, he said: "You may think all this is real, but to me it is all illusion. The only reality is that little shrine, the superstition and irrationality that pervade the Japanese under the veneer of business suits and an advanced technology." □

Donald Richie is working on a new book about Japanese cinema that will be published by Columbia University Press in fall 1998.



The director Shohei Imamura.

get ahead in "Intentions of Murder" (1964), Imamura's people are pragmatically set to survive.

It isn't that they do not know what official Japan expects. The raped housewife knows she is supposed to kill herself now that she is so "shamed." Instead, however, she opens the icebox and has a good meal. The pornographer in "The Pornographers" (1966) knows what society thinks, yet insists reasonably that he is fulfilling a civic need; it is the official stance ("Japan has no pornography") that is wrong. The heroine in "The Insect Woman" is a businesswoman who bases her business (prostitution) upon the same considerations made by respectable Japanese firms, except that she is a bit more honest.

The Imamura protagonist is usually a woman. It is she who for him best indicates the differences between these two Japans: the official and the real.

One reason is that she is a superior species. She understands her environment and she triumphs over it. "They even outlive men," the director, who is now 72, told the critic Audie Bock in an important interview in the 1970's. "And as for self-sacrificing women like those in Naruse's 'Floating Clouds' and Mizoguchi's 'Life of Oharu,' they don't even exist. My heroines are true to life —



Hiroyuki Nagato, in Mr. Imamura's "Pigs and Battleships" (1961) — Seeking the "uncivilized" Japan.

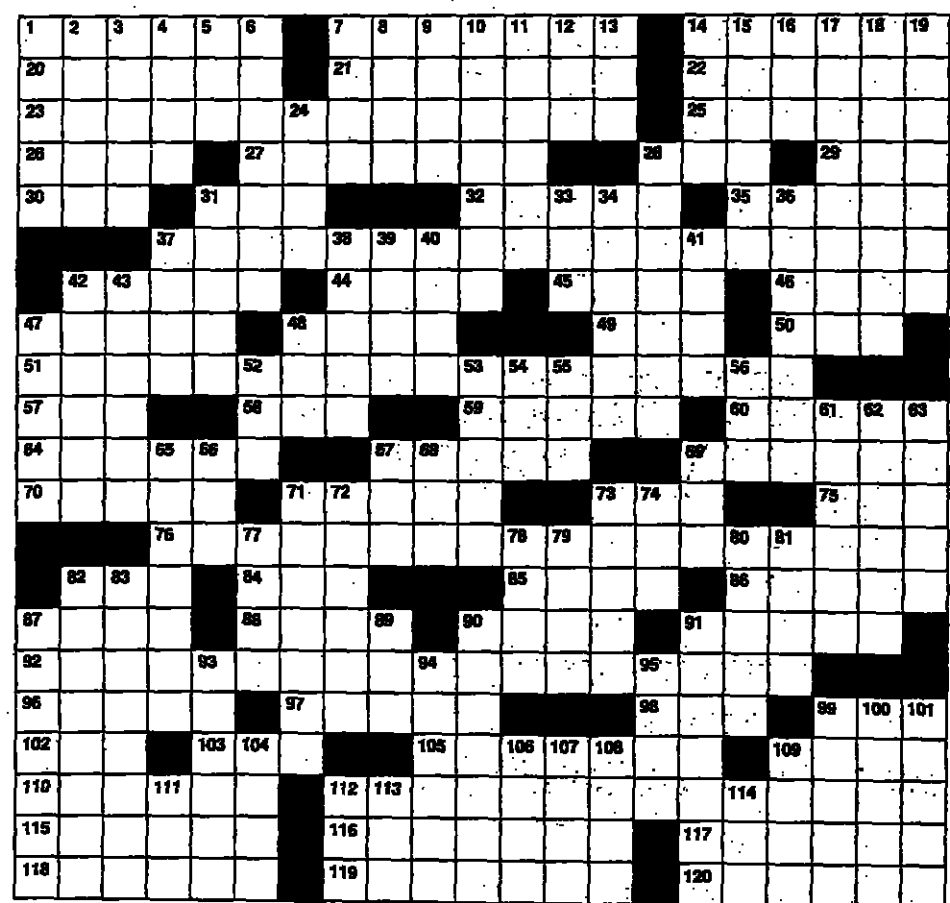
LABOR DAZE

By HARVEY ESTES AND NANCY SALOMON / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

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ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

ACROSS
 1. Like some Swift writing: ELEGANT
 7. Gallery event: EXHIBITION
 14. "My Cup Runneth Over" singer, 1967: BOB DYLAN
 20. Zane Grey classic: THE RIDGE
 21. Blows the joint: JOINT
 22. Egghead: EGGHEAD
 23. Fence builder's job?: FENCING
 25. Storied raider: ROBIN HOOD
 26. Writer Ferber: FERBER
 27. Minds, with "to": TOGETHER
 28. Green hole: GREEN HOLE
 29. Chinese dynasty when Jesus lived: JESUS
 30. Roots may need this: ROOTS
 31. El —: EL PASO
 32. Bygone music genre: SWING
 33. Giving the once-over: OVER
 37. Architect's job?: ARCHITECT
 42. Winner's look: WINNER
 44. Least bit of concern: A LITTLE
 45. Pre-Columbian Peruvian: INCAN
 46. Strip: STRIP
 47. Singer profiled in "Sweet Dreams": DREAMS
 48. Unit of 97-Across: 97-A
 49. Push to the limit: LIMIT
 50. Ends of letters, briefly: END
 51. Steeple musician's job?: STEEPLE
 57. "What Kind of Fool?": FOOL
 58. Authority, metaphorically: AUTHORITY
 59. Like an empty ship at sea: EMPTY
 60. Judge's cry: CRY
 64. Ball park licensee: LICENSE
 67. Filers with narrow waists: FILERS
 69. Cinch: CINCH
 70. Singed parts, usually: SINGED
 71. Kind of drum: DRUM
 73. Chaney, the Man of a Thousand Faces: CHANEY
 75. "Fancy that!": FANCY
 76. Sculptor's job?: SCULPTOR
 82. —Magnon: MAGNON
 84. Shoe color: COLOR
 85. Drive: DRIVE
 86. Puts to flight: FLIGHT
 87. Runners' location: LOCATION
 88. Rock projection: PROJECTION
 90. It's fit to be tried: TRIED
 91. Leaves: LEAVES
 92. Politician's job?: POLITICIAN
 96. 1970 hit "Hitchin'": HITCHIN'
 97. Poet's concern: CONCERN
 98. It's not free of charge: CHARGE
 99. Natl. Popcorn Poppin' Month: MONTH
 102. Time div.: DIV.
 103. Main ingredient in a Monte Carlo: CARLO
 105. Like some plishes: PLISHES
 109. Tudor queen: QUEEN
 110. Bear: BEAR
 112. Feather pecker's job?: FEATHER
 DOWN
 1. Like some Swift writing: ELEGANT
 7. Gallery event: EXHIBITION
 14. "My Cup Runneth Over" singer, 1967: BOB DYLAN
 20. Zane Grey classic: THE RIDGE
 21. Blows the joint: JOINT
 22. Egghead: EGGHEAD
 23. Fence builder's job?: FENCING
 25. Storied raider: ROBIN HOOD
 26. Writer Ferber: FERBER
 27. Minds, with "to": TOGETHER
 28. Green hole: GREEN HOLE
 29. Chinese dynasty when Jesus lived: JESUS
 30. Roots may need this: ROOTS
 31. El —: EL PASO
 32. Bygone music genre: SWING
 33. Giving the once-over: OVER
 37. Architect's job?: ARCHITECT
 42. Winner's look: WINNER
 44. Least bit of concern: A LITTLE
 45. Pre-Columbian Peruvian: INCAN
 46. Strip: STRIP
 47. Singer profiled in "Sweet Dreams": DREAMS
 48. Unit of 97-Across: 97-A
 49. Push to the limit: LIMIT
 50. Ends of letters, briefly: END
 51. Steeple musician's job?: STEEPLE
 57. "What Kind of Fool?": FOOL
 58. Authority, metaphorically: AUTHORITY
 59. Like an empty ship at sea: EMPTY
 60. Judge's cry: CRY
 64. Ball park licensee: LICENSE
 67. Filers with narrow waists: FILERS
 69. Cinch: CINCH
 70. Singed parts, usually: SINGED
 71. Kind of drum: DRUM
 73. Chaney, the Man of a Thousand Faces: CHANEY
 75. "Fancy that!": FANCY
 76. Sculptor's job?: SCULPTOR
 82. —Magnon: MAGNON
 84. Shoe color: COLOR
 85. Drive: DRIVE
 86. Puts to flight: FLIGHT
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 90. It's fit to be tried: TRIED
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From Ephraim Kishon to Shavuot



Sasha Green of San Diego

Twelve adolescents, some of them gangly, all of them nervous, will stand before a panel of judges at the Eretz Yisrael Museum in Ramat Aviv today and field question after question on a subject that these days is as controversial as it is ambiguous: Jewish identity.

Judging from the 177-page study guide used for the International Competition on Jewish Identity, some of the possible questions could be: Who are General Zionists? What are the different names for Shavuot? Who is Nissim Aloni?

Jewish identity, said Ya'acov Eliav, one of the directors of the competition, "is the sum of what we have received over thousands of years." As such, it has to be a lot easier organizing a spelling bee, or even a geography bee. There it is clear what needs to be asked. How do you spell "aggrandizement"? Where is Boise? But a Jewish identity bee? What should be included could be even trickier than what should be left out.

Channah Yazo, chairperson of the committee that put together the booklet, said it is made up of three basic components: heritage, the "Jewish book-shelf," and Jewish history. It is limited, she admitted, and its emphasis is on the Israeli experience.

The quiz and the book "were not meant to check positions or opinions," Yazo said, but to convey to religious and secular students information about what makes up Jewish identity.

If 14-year-old Shaanan Meyerstein, a ninth grader at Baltimore, Maryland's Beth Tfiloh school, is any indication, the quiz is doing its transfer-of-information job fairly well. Meyerstein, one of the finalists in the competition, said, "I knew there were a lot of wars in Israel, but now I understand what happened in the wars."

The study guide includes a chapter entitled "Culture, Literature and Art," with entries such as The Cameri Theater, Ephraim Kishon and Marcel Yanko. Asked if this is part of his Jewish identity, the boy

The politicians may not agree on how to define Jewish identity. But 200,000 Jewish students from around the world have found common ground. They are competing in an ambitious quiz on Jewish identity. Herb Keinson meets the finalists



Some of the 110 finalists of the International Competition on Jewish Identity for Jewish Youth. (Photos: Sarit Uziel)

from Baltimore replied, "Jewish identity includes culture, music, science, writing. It is all part of our culture."

"I never realized there was a Jewish population in Costa Rica, for example," he added.

Another finalist, 14-year-old Dvir Dimri from Beit El, said the booklet is full of "things that bind the Jewish people, like the immigration waves, [Jewish] history, and the history of Jerusalem." Dimri said he learned "a lot" about the Diaspora, including the different streams of Judaism. "I understand where they are coming from," he said. "I don't agree, but I understand. I understand why in modern Orthodox synagogues girls and boys may be together."

Why? "Because to prevent assimilation, they have to try and make everything fun," Dimri said.

MORE THAN 200,000 Jewish students aged 13-16 took part in the competition, officially called the International Competition on Jewish Identity for Jewish Youth, which is under the auspices of the Education Ministry and Bar-Ilan University's International Center for Jewish Identity. The participants came from some 35 countries. The 110 finalists — who will be whittled down to 12 today — have taken part in a two-week whirlwind tour of the country. The group that arrived also included 10 participants who won an essay contest on Jewish identity. Among the essay topics:



Dvir Dimri from Beit El

"Describe Jewish identity from the perspective of a stone in the Western Wall"; "You are an Israeli coin: Trace your life for one day as you are traded from Jew to Jew"; and "If you were a prophet today, what would your message be to the people of Israel?"

The idea behind the identity quiz, which was held for Israeli youth for some 18 years before being taken over by Bar-Ilan U. last year and opened up to Diaspora youth as well, is to bring them close to a wide variety of subjects tied to Jewish identity.

Some 360 schools in Israel took part in the program on a voluntary basis this year, about two-thirds of them state schools, and the other state-religious schools. Also taking part were dozens of Jewish religious and secular schools worldwide. The booklet was translated into nine languages. Some of the students prepared individually, others with the assistance of teachers. The chapter headings include "The People and their Land Throughout the Generations," "Aliya," "Israel's Fiftieth Anniversary," "From War to Peace," "Holidays and Festivals," and "Jewish Values."

Competition director Eliav said that in the Diaspora the greatest interest was shown in South America, where nearly every Jewish school there participated in the program. It has been more difficult making inroads in the US schools, he said, although a large number of schools there also participated. "There the system is more closed," he said, "and you get the feeling in some communities that they think we are challenging their sovereignty about deciding what to teach and how."

"In our view this information strengthens the ties of Diaspora youth to Israel, and that is [the educators'] biggest fear. Many of the finalists are talking about Israel and the army and how they want to come back on other programs."

DESPITE THE ever-present tensions between the religious and



Shaanan Meyerstein of Baltimore

secular in the country, Eliav denied that the term "Jewish identity" is loaded. "It is undefined, not loaded," he said. The competition is not an attempt to define what Jewish identity, he said, but rather to create something so broad that everyone will be able to find a niche inside. "Our emphasis was to make this as wide as possible," he said.

But isn't this all rather Israel-centered? "It is clear that we are looking at the issue through Israeli eyes," said Eliav, "but we are not neglecting the Diaspora communities. What we are looking for is the widest common denominator."

The search for the common denominator has led to the presentation of thousands of years of Jewish history and heritage in a non-judgmental way. History is presented as a series of facts: "The Revisionist Zionists believed..." "The infitida was..." and so on.

Likewise, Jewish religious customs are also presented in a factual manner. For instance, the entry under Shavuot reads: "Shavuot is the second of the three holidays on which the people of Israel were commanded to go up to the Temple in Jerusalem. It falls on the sixth day of the Hebrew month of Sivan and is celebrated [for] one day in Israel and two in the Diaspora."

The entry then explains the different names of the holiday and describes some of its traditions — all in a neutral, academic manner.

Bar-Ilan University president Moshe Kaveh said the booklet from which the quiz is drawn was written by educators affiliated with different streams of Judaism. There is no hidden agenda, he said, no attempt to convince anyone of anything. "What we are trying to do is pass on information about the history of the Jewish people, in order to instill pride. That is the most important thing today, to give the youth a feeling of pride in being connected to a Jewish chain that includes many beautiful and important things they do not know about."

Ambassador Gubby

If you had tea with the queen, what would you chat about? Mothers.

"I can't talk to her about horses," Mimi Avner pondered, moments before her one-on-one with Elizabeth II. "And I did not think she'd be interested to hear about my grandchildren."

Noting that their mothers were about the same age, "I said something like 'That was an incredible generation, wasn't it?' She lit up. She's obviously very fond of her mother. She said, 'I think we're spoiled; we're used to cars from door to door, and they're of the horse-and-carriage era.'"

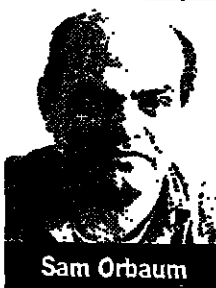
"And my brother (later) laughed and said, 'Yeah, can you see our mother, in the East End of London, in a horse and carriage?'"

Mimi and Yehuda Avner are from humble stock — their parents entered England as refugees — but found themselves at the most dizzying of heights as representatives of the Jewish state in the Court of St. James.

Yehuda returned to his homeland as Israeli ambassador in 1983, assuming the post from Shlomo Argov, who was shot by Palestinians a year earlier.

Yehuda's 40 years in the Foreign Ministry kept him at the periphery of Israeli history. He worked closely with Levi Eshkol, Golda Meir, Yitzhak Rabin and Menachem Begin; he even met president Chaim Weizmann in 1949, when Yehuda was a pioneer on Kibbutz Lavi.

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

Mimi made her mark again, at an annual diplomatic ball that happened to take place at a most sensitive time, during the Lebanon War. "Directly opposite me was the Saudi Arabian. When the waiter approached him I noticed he looked at his watch and he said 'No thank you.' Suddenly I realized we were in the middle of Ramadan, and it was not yet dark (at which time he could start to eat). So I took a deep breath — and this is where the women come in, we unpaid wives who are totally unrecognized for the hard work we do! Obviously we were not on speaking terms, and the men wouldn't have been able to do this. I said 'Could I suggest you ask the waiter to bring you some melon, it's a very good thing to break a fast on.' And he looked stunned and he said, 'Thank you, thank you, madam.' He called the waiter back, and I felt good, I'd made my little contribution."

She says that "Kosher caterers always give twice or three times as much as what everyone else gets; it's obvious you're eating different food."

Yehuda snickers. "And we've been on state occasions where they've come along with a box. A box of food, a bloody box! Yessir!" he howls in mock horror.

One time, in Washington, during a dinner president Ford threw for Rabin, everybody had been served their meal of roast duck, but Yehuda's plate remained empty. Finally, the butler stepped forward and "he puts in front of

I would be making a pompous speech somewhere, and somebody would get up at question time and call me 'Gubby' instead of 'Mr. Ambassador'

The Avners say they're just regular folks, but it was hard not to get a bit giddy when Yehuda presented his ambassadorial credentials — pompously paraded at Buckingham Palace in open carriage, with white horses, timed to the changing of the guards — with his six siblings coming from Manchester to watch their little brother.

Despite his exalted status, for many in Manchester he was still the Haffner kid. "People knew me as Gubby," he chuckles. "Sometimes they would cut me down to size: I would be making a pompous speech somewhere, and somebody would get up at question time and instead of calling me 'Mr. Ambassador,' they would call me 'Gubby.'"

Right off the bat, Yehuda found his diplomatic skills tested. The queen greeted him with the words: "I do believe this is the first time I've ever received credentials from a foreign ambassador born in this country." Thinking fast for the appropriate response, Yehuda said: "Though I was born in this country, your majesty, I was given birth in Jerusalem."

Being in the foreign service had its moments, as you can imagine, but being an Orthodox ambassador had its complications. It didn't hurt that the Avners are blessed with a sense of humor.

At the beginning of a working lunch for Menachem Begin at 10 Downing Street, a huge ceremonial chalice was placed behind Yehuda — despite it being a regular weekday. Begin leaned over to him and whispered, "Yehuda, Mach hamoytzi" (telling him, in Yiddish, to say the blessing on the bread).

"The devil got into me. I have no other words for it. I decided I was going to come out with all guns blazing. I became at that moment a Reform American rabbi." Yehuda laughs fiendishly. "And I was thinking to myself, 'I've gotcha, the lot of ya!'"

"I'm an old kibbutznik, so the only way I know how to cut a chilla is down the middle and chop it up quickly. So I did that, and I had these chunks of chilla, and now I didn't know what to do with them."

"So I get up and ceremoniously go to Thatcher, and I say, 'Madam Prime Minister, wilt thou break bread with me?' She thought it was a delightful custom."

At the end of a state visit by Shimon Peres, the Israelis were hosted at a more informal lunch. Mimi recalls the sensitivity of Princess Diana. "She said, 'I took a note of every item of food you'd been eating this past week, and whilst I didn't bring in a rabbi to make my kitchen kosher, I promise you that everything I'm serving will be perfectly acceptable to you.'"

At one point, Diana summoned Prince William, the five-year-old future king, who asked Mimi to "teach me a word in your language."

me a plate. And on the plate is a wad of lettuce about two inches thick. On top of that, a mound of exotic chopped fruits. On top of that a blob of cottage cheese. On top of that a swirl of whipped cream. And everybody is looking at it.

"And Gerry Ford leans over to Rabin, whispers in his ear, Rabin whispers something back, whereupon president Ford calls over to me, Happy Birthday! And everybody applauds and sings Happy Birthday."

"I was bamboozled, and later I said to Rabin, 'Why did you say it was my birthday?' And he said, in his typical Rabin gruffness, 'What else was I going to tell them?'"

Yehuda remembers one awful moment when diplomacy yielded to personal conscience.

"We received an invitation to the state banquet at Buckingham Palace, for the state visit of German president von Weizsäcker. When he toasted the Queen, his national anthem was played. *Deutschland über Alles*. I could not stand up. I couldn't. I didn't. I was... paralyzed."

"Afterward I went up to von Weizsäcker, I felt this imperative and I said, 'Your Excellency, I owe you an apology.' He says 'Why?' and I realized he hadn't seen. I said, 'I'm the ambassador of Israel, and when your anthem was played I did not rise.'"

"He took me by the hand and said, 'I understand.'"

At times, it was "terribly lonely" being an Orthodox Jew in the service.

"I had a problem about going to shul. I was subject to the security of Scotland Yard wherever I went. I was not supposed to walk because then you're the most exposed. The chief of security said, 'OK, go to synagogue, but drive.' And I told him, 'If I don't walk to the synagogue on Shabbat, the enemy will have won.'"

"So I made this deal with him: I won't go on Friday night, but Shabbat morning I'm going to St. John's Woods Synagogue."

For most Jews, this 10-minute walk would be a nice, leisurely, peaceful stroll. But not for the ambassador.

"There would be two police motorcyclists circling around me. An armored vehicle alongside me. A backup. Six Scotland Yard men all around, in bullet-proof vests."

But protection against which enemy?

Yehuda relishes telling this one. "I wanted to attend a *simcha* in Stamford Hill, in the heart of the haredi community. Stamford Hill is known to have quite an [anti-Zionist] Satmar group. Driving there, I had a car in front, a car behind, motorcyclists — more than usual. So I said, 'What's going on here?'"

"And the sergeant in charge says, 'Ambassador, we've increased security because we're going into a neighborhood in which there is a sect hostile to your country.'"

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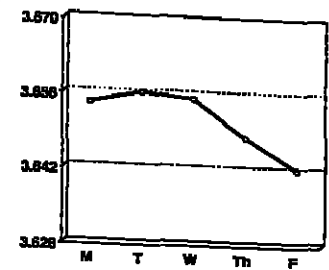
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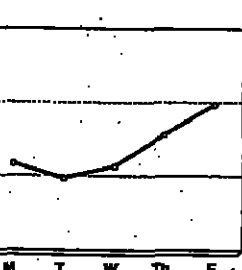
MARKETS

in brief

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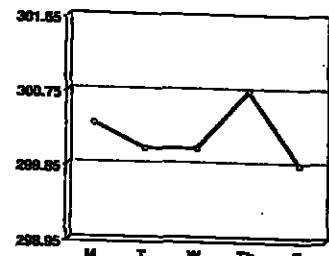


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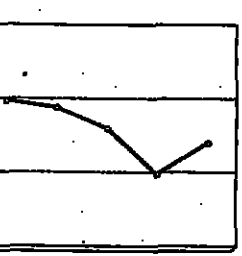
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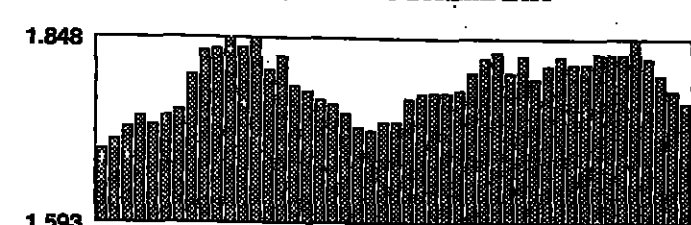


OIL

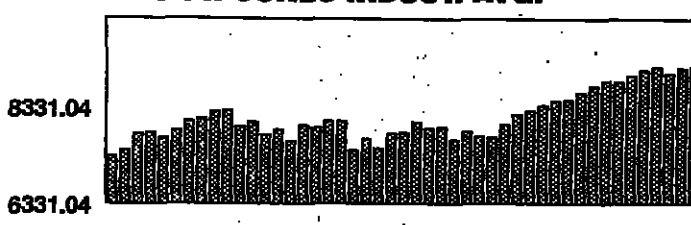
\$ per barrel of Brent crude



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Banks abandon plan to close on Friday

The banks have given up plans to close branches on Friday, as many of them reached agreements with their workers' unions to give workers a five-day week while keeping the branches open six days.

US justice probes Dead Sea Bromine

Dead Sea Bromine (DSB) said yesterday in a statement to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange that the US Justice Department is conducting an investigation concerning "certain breaches of the US antitrust law" by the company.

Bank Hapoalim to raise \$1.5 billion in London

Bank Hapoalim said yesterday that it plans to increase the sum raised through the offering of global medium-term notes on the London Stock Exchange to \$1.5 billion.

Pennsylvania opens regional trade office in J'lem

Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge yesterday inaugurated the Pennsylvania Trade Office in Jerusalem, making it the 12th US state to open business offices here.

IAI work accidents down 13%

Work accidents at Israel Aircraft Industries have decreased by 13 percent during 1997, the result of an intensified effort to improve conditions at the government company, executives said yesterday.

Russian tycoon buys 25% of 'Ma'ariv'

\$85m. deal follows deadlock in talks with US investor Ronald Lauder

By DAN GERSTENFELD

One week after talks with US investor Ronald Lauder reached a deadlock, the Israel Land Development Corp. (ILDC) announced yesterday that it has signed to sell Russian banking tycoon Vladimir Gusinski 25 percent of Ma'ariv Holdings for \$85 million.

The money received from the deal would be invested in Ma'ariv Holdings, which is the parent

company of Ma'ariv, Israel's second largest daily newspaper.

The transaction values Ma'ariv at \$255m., before the investment, which is some 120% higher than its current market capitalization.

Last week, negotiations with Lauder, heir to the Estee Lauder cosmetics empire, broke down.

The local press had speculated that Lauder was willing to buy 20% to 25% of Ma'ariv at a price that values the company at some \$135m.

In a statement to the Tel Aviv

Stock Exchange, ILDC, which is controlled by the Nimrodi family, said that Gusinski has given

Ma'ariv an option to acquire 10% of his holdings in Matav Cable Systems Media, allowing Ma'ariv to increase its holdings in the cable TV operator to 24%.

Following the transaction, ILDC will hold 62% of Ma'ariv, Gusinski will hold 25% and the remaining shares will continue to trade on the TASE.

The Nimrodi family would use

\$36m. for the repayment of loans to ILDC, while the remaining sum

would be used for investments and expanding Ma'ariv's activities in the printed and electronic media here and abroad.

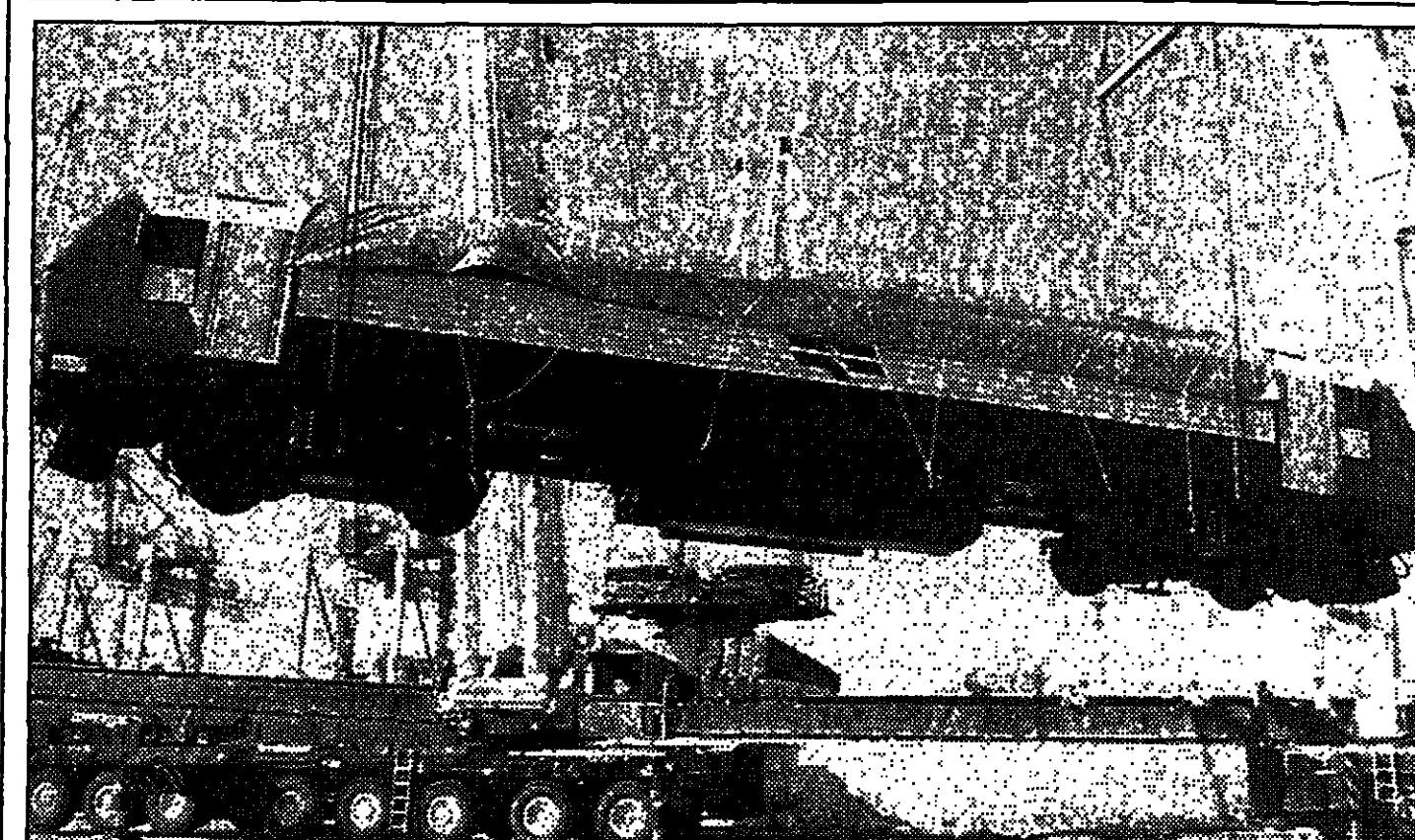
ILDC said that following the deal it would report a capital gain of NIS 187m.

After the announcement ILDC shares surged 9.24% to NIS 26 while Ma'ariv's share rocketed 14.34% to NIS 28.7.

Gusinski, who is president of

Most Bank, one of Russia's largest financial institutions, also controls Russia's major TV channel, NTV, and is the president of the Russian Jewish Congress. His personal fortune is estimated at \$400 million.

The 47-year-old, who started out as theater director, has recently concentrated on his media empire which controls also a radio station, the news magazine *Itoqi* and one of Russia's main dailies, *Segodnya*.



New trains arrive in Ashdod

One of Israel Railways' 18 new locomotives is unloaded yesterday at Ashdod Port. These new trains will replace part of the existing rolling stock, some of which dates as far back as 1951. The engines arrived from GEC Alsthom's Spanish plant and cost \$40 million. Israel Railways said the new engines can reach a top speed of 140 kilometers an hour.

PUA-Electricity demands gov't expand its responsibilities

By DAVID HARRIS

The Public Utilities Authority - Electricity must be made responsible for monitoring other natural monopolies, its chairman Chaim Elata said yesterday.

"All similar organizations in the United States deal with public utilities; we only deal with electricity," said Elata, who denied he had a vested interest in expanding his power.

The PUA-E was set up under the Labor government, but only became fully functional several

months after the last general election. The body's main functions are to monitor and approve electricity tariffs and ensure that "expenses must be used, useful and prudent."

Elata said Israel Electric Corporation's workers are still refusing to cooperate with the PUA-E. However, at a meeting with the board last week, IEC executives promised they would attempt to persuade the workers' committee of the benefits of a good relationship with the PUA-E. The employees say they have enjoyed the freedom of an uninterrupted, positive

understanding with management since the company's creation 75 years ago and object in the strongest possible terms to "interference" from the PUA-E.

While the PUA-E has had mixed dealings with the IEC, including successfully winning a court battle over pricing, Elata would not criticize IEC management.

"No firm has increased the yearly supply of electricity by six to seven percent over the last six or seven years," Elata said. "They have increased the reliability of service. They have served Israel quite well."

Embassies to make economy top priority

By DAVID HARRIS

Israel's embassies must make the economy their No. 1 priority, according to a document sent to ambassadors by the Foreign Ministry.

The booklet says that despite increasing unemployment and the slowdown in economic growth, the time has come for Israel to be seen as a leading economic nation. Ambassadors are in the best place position to advance this claim, ministry Director-General Eytan Bent-

sur writes. He has several recommendations for improving the delivery of the economic message:

- Economic issues must receive high priority during meetings with prime ministers, members of government and other key players in administration.
- All speeches at public appearances should contain references to economic matters.
- Ambassadors must arrange appearances before business and financial organizations.

As soon as there is information available on major international Israeli tenders, ambassadors must make efforts to inform their host nations.

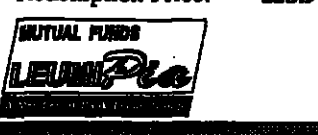
Additionally, if host nations issue tenders for which Israel could compete, this data should be passed back to Israel.

If any restrictions or blocks are preventing Israeli businesses from entering a host nation, the embassy must work to remove them.

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Let the priests, who minister before the Lord, weep between the temple porch and the altar. Let them say, "Spare your people, O Lord. Do not make your inheritance an object of scorn, a byword among the nations. Why should they say among the peoples, 'Where is their God?' Then the Lord will be jealous for his land and take pity on his people. Joel 2:17-18

"Consecrate yourselves and be holy, because I am the Lord your God." Leviticus 20:7

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SPORTS

in brief

Grimshy win Division Two playoff

LONDON (Reuters) — A goal by Kevin Donovan gave Grimshy a 1-0 victory over Northampton in the English second division play-off final at Wembley yesterday.

Donovan, who scored the goal that beat Fulham in the play-off semifinals, seized on a defensive error to round keeper Andy Woodman and kick the ball in after 19 minutes.

Unfashionable Northampton, whose side cost a total of £300,000 were seeking a second successive play-off final victory. They were roared on by more than 40,000 of the divisional record 69,998 crowd, but, despite having most of the second half pressure, fell short.

Germany win tennis World Team Cup

DUESSELDORF (Reuters) — Nicolas Kiefer upset world No. 2 Petr Korda in a rain-hit final to present Germany with victory in the World Team Cup on Sunday.

The 20-year-old Kiefer kept his cool in awful weather to tame Korda 7-5 6-3 and hand the home side an unassailable 2-0 lead over the Czech Republic.

Haas, the same age as Kiefer, had earlier overcome Slava Dosedel 6-1 6-4 to put Germany on course for a third triumph in Dusseldorf after wins in 1989 and 1994.

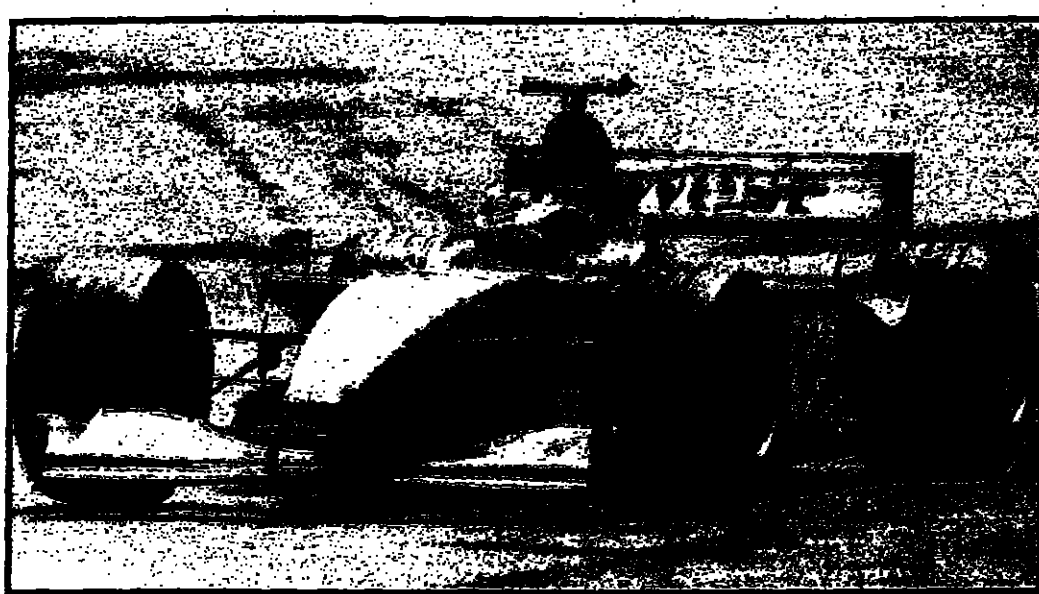
The Germans later completed a 3-0 rout when Boris Becker and David Prinosil beat the Czech pair of Daniel Vacek and Cyril Suk 6-4, 4-6, 6-2.

Panathinaikos wins Greek basketball title

ATHENS (AP) — Panathinaikos of Athens yesterday beat PAOK Salonika 68-58 (33-31) to clinch the Greek Basketball championships for the first time in 14 years.

Panathinaikos beat PAOK, coached by Israel's Zvi Sherf 3-2 after a best-of-five playoff series.

The last time Panathinaikos won the trophy was in 1984. Since then Aris Salonika had won seven titles, PAOK one and Olympiakos Piraeus the last five. The game was played before 15,000 spectators at the Athens Olympic stadium.



Hakkinen's command performance in Monaco

Mika Hakkinen opened a 17-point lead in the world championship yesterday with a flawless victory in the Monaco Grand Prix. The McLaren driver led throughout to secure his fourth win of the season and fifth of his career — all scored in the last seven races. He finished 11.4 seconds clear of Italian Giancarlo Fisichella in a Benetton, after both his leading title rivals, team mate David Coulthard and Michael Schumacher, went out of contention. Schumacher's Ferrari team mate Eddie Irvine came third, a repeat of his podium position last year. Hakkinen now has 46 championship points, Coulthard 29 and Schumacher 24.

(Reuters)

Scotland, Colombia draw 2-2 in friendly

EAST RUTHERFORD, NJ (Reuters) — A goal by Freddy Rincon 11 minutes from time gave Colombia a 2-2 draw with Scotland on Saturday in a soccer friendly at Giants Stadium.

A crowd of 56,404, mainly supporters of Colombia, witnessed the wide-open match between the two World Cup-bound squads.

Colombia opened the scoring in the 22nd minute through a Carlos Valderrama penalty. Scotland grabbed the equalizer only two minutes later

through John Collins. Craig Burley, one of seven Celtic players on the squad, scored his first international goal to give Scotland a 2-1 advantage in the 33rd minute.

Colombia got back on level terms at 79 minutes when Parma forward Faustino Asprilla broke in on Sullivan, only to have his shot ricochet off the right post, along the goal line and out of the left post where the Corinthians midfielder put it home from five meters for the eventual final result.

Sabres, Hasek stifle Capitals



WASHINGTON (AP) —

Two goals in two minutes at the start of the second period gave the Buffalo Sabres all they needed to move a step closer to the Stanley Cup finals.

Michal Grosek and Miroslav Satan scored, and Dominik Hasek made 19 saves for his first playoff shutout in four years as the Sabres won their eighth straight game, a 2-0 victory over the Washington Capitals in Saturday night's opener of the Eastern Conference finals.

What had been billed as Round 1 of the goalie showdown of year, Hasek vs. Olaf Kolzig, came down to two simple plays that drained the MCI Center crowd. In essence, Grosek and Satan assisted on their own goals.

On Buffalo's first offensive push after the first intermission, Grosek clipped and charged from the blue line. The puck caromed off the boards behind the net and right back to Grosek, whose casual-looking wrist shot from the right circle found the space between Kolzig's pads 31 seconds into the period.

The goal was Grosek's sixth of the playoffs, only four fewer than he had in the entire regular season. It was also the first goal scored on Kolzig since Game 3 of the Ottawa series, ending his shutout streak at 168 min-

utes, 42 seconds.

Satan scored 1:24 later by reversing his momentum to retrieve his own rebound. Kolzig stopped the first shot from Satan, who had skated in unchecked from the left side, but the Capitals' goaltender and defenseman Brendan Witt were sprawled on the ice and couldn't find the puck. Satan hit the breaks, did a 360-degree turn to return to the crease and poked in his sixth goal of the playoffs.

The back-to-back goals rattled the older Capitals, while the younger Sabres remained poised to kill off three consecutive power plays over the next 11 minutes. Buffalo's defense choked Washington's attack, which had looked so promising in the first period, and allowed the Capitals just two shots in 4:25 of power-play time.

Though they were trying to overcome a 2-0 deficit, the Capitals managed only five shots in the third period. The Capitals have been outshot 11 games in a row, and haven't managed more than eight shots in a period in 14 periods.

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Brown takes England to crushing win over SA

LEEDS (Reuters) — Alistair Brown cut and carved his way to a 31-ball half-century yesterday to give England a crushing seven-wicket victory in the third one-day international against South Africa.

Chasing a modest 206 for victory on an uneven Headingley pitch with inconsistent bounce and lavish seam movement, Brown recorded the second fastest half-century ever by an England player.

Having lost the three-match series 2-0 with a 32-run defeat at Old Trafford on Saturday, the win with 15 overs to spare relieved the mounting pressure on one-day captain Adam Hoggie after six consecutive losses.

Rustic cuts and vicious pulls brought Brown 11 boundaries in his final 59 from 40 balls but it was just insufficient to ease the record of Chris Old who scored 50 from 30 balls against India in the 1975 World Cup at Lord's.

Left-hander Nick Knight was overshadowed during an opening stand of 114 although his own half-century came from just 76 balls with six boundaries in an innings of great composure that completed scores of 64, 34 and 51 in the series.

Although Allan Donald claimed a brace of wickets for the tourists, Nasser Hussain (33 not out) and Alec Stewart (26 not out) completed

the job without alarm. Hansie Cronje's decision to bat first on an uneven, unreliable wicket backfired immediately with Darren Gough and Angus Fraser making the most of the variable bounce.

Opener Gary Kirsten set the tone with three boundaries in a brisk 19 before Fraser hit his leg stump via a bottom edge.

Jacques Kallis (1) and Daryll Cullinan (13) were cleverly run out by direct hits from Alec Stewart and Nasser Hussain to compound the tourists' problems.

Cronje interspersed uncertain defensive pushes with lavish cuts and cross-batted heaves to make 35 from 41 balls before Ealham, who took a career best 3-44, had him caught behind with an away swinger.

All rounder Shaun Pollock, having endured a lean time with the bat on tour so far, compiled a face-saving, occasionally brilliant 60 from 64 balls with five boundaries to keep South Africa's hopes of a whitewash alive.

The tourists now have two days off before playing the minor counties in another one day match at Stone on Wednesday. They begin a four day game against Gloucestershire on Friday before the first Test against England in Birmingham on June 4.

Loye, Ripley make history

LONDON (Reuters) — Northamptonshire pair Mal Loye and David Ripley made English cricket history yesterday with a partnership of 401 in a high-scoring draw against county champions Glamorgan.

Their stand was the highest for the fifth wicket in English first-class cricket, beating the record set in 1909 by E.G.

Arnold and W.B. Burns who compiled 393 for Worcestershire against Warwickshire.

The world record is held by the Waikato brothers, Steve and Mark, with 464 for New South Wales in the 1990-91 season.

Both men made the highest score of their career, Loye with an unbeaten 322 and Ripley with 206.

Northamptonshire responded to Glamorgan's 563 by making 712, by far the highest score of the English season so far.

The previous best was Worcestershire's 627 for six, made two days earlier against Middlesex in a match they too could only draw.

Mark Ramprakash hit his second century of the match and Western Australian Justin Langer followed his first innings of 97 with 118 as the home side, forced to follow on, held out comfortably.

Bulldogs win to stay top of AFL

MELBOURNE (AP) — Western Bulldogs turned on a fiery final quarter burst to stay top of the Australian Football league ladder after the weekend's ninth round.

Jose Romero scored three goals, including one of the Bulldogs' four in the last quarter, as they held off a determined Richmond 13.10 (88) to 11.9 (75).

Sydney Swans full forward Tony Lockett passed 1,200 career goals as they beat Hawthorn to move to outright second, one win behind the Bulldogs.

Lockett scored 11 goals as the Swans beat the Hawks 17.15 (117) to 11.14 (80).

Melbourne slipped back with a 18.14 (122) to 12.12 (84) loss

against an inconsistent Essendon. The Demons fell one win behind the Swans in equal third with North Melbourne and St. Kilda.

North Melbourne continued Carlton's horror run with a 17.13 (115) to 10.14 (74) win while St. Kilda fell to a 14.21 (105) to 13.12 (90) loss against Fremantle.

West Coast captain John Worsfold celebrated his 200th AFL game with a 21-point win over Geelong at Kardinia Park.

Darren Jarman kicked four goals to lead champion Adelaide to a 14.14 (98) to 6.14 (50) win over Brisbane at the Gabba.

Port Adelaide improved to a 5-4 record with a 11.14 (80) to 9.9 (63) win over Collingwood yesterday.

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pair set
English
cricket
record

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McGwire
hits 2 more

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Sports Editors
Joe Hoffman & Ori LewisCzech coach
Orin takes
charge at
Mac. Haifa

By ORI LEWIS

Czech soccer coach Dusan Orin yesterday signed a contract to take the helm at Maccabi Haifa for the next two seasons.

Orin, 55, is a former coach of his national team whom he led to the finals of Euro '96 in England where the Czechs lost to Germany 2-1 on a "golden goal" in extra time.

Orin also coached Sparta Prague with whom he won three championships and three cups. He takes over from caretaker coach Daniel Brailowsky, who filled the role at Maccabi Haifa following the dismissal of Giora Spiegel in mid-season.

Orin's plans for the greens of Haifa are as yet unclear, although he will probably keep Brailowsky in his setup.

As far as the playing staff is concerned, there is also no clear indication of Orin's plans and much will depend on the future of Alon Mizrahi, who is next season seeking employment either in England or Spain.

In the event that Mizrahi goes, Arkik Ronado, who signed a three-year contract with the Haifa, captain next season.

Miller's clutch shooting lifts Pacers



CLOSE QUARTERS - Indiana's Reggie Miller (right) collides with Chicago's Michael Jordan during third-quarter action. The Pacers edged the Bulls to cut their Eastern Conference final series deficit to 2-1.



INDIANAPOLIS (AP) - They call him Killer Miller in certain parts of the country, and the city of Chicago may be next on the list.

Reggie Miller showed the Bulls why he's one of the best clutch players in the game. He made three 3-pointers and

two key free throws on a bum ankle late in the fourth quarter as the Indiana Pacers held off the Bulls 107-105 in Game 3 of the Eastern Conference finals.

In this Miller moment, which closed the Pacers' deficit to 2-1 in the best-of-7 series, he hobbled around on one good leg yet still had enough resolve to make several big plays right when Indiana needed them - and jump for joy after a few of them.

Miller scored 13 of his 28 points in the fourth quarter and was 9-for-15 from the field after going a combined 9-for-27 in Games 1 and 2.

"I heard something pop. It's still hurting pretty bad," Miller said of his ankle. "But I'm going to have somebody work on it."

Relying on 37 points from their reserves, the Pacers gave themselves a shot at tying the series when it resumes for Game 4 today.

This is the third time in five years the Pacers have been down 0-2 in the conference finals. They came back to force a seventh game the other two times.

"We wanted to come out and play with better intensity than we had in Chicago," Miller said. "We have a lot of pride. ... This is going to be a do-or-die game."

Chicago has never lost a playoff

series after opening a 2-0 lead. Miller's clutch shooting was almost negated by the 3-point shooting of Scottie Pippen and Michael Jordan.

Each made a 3 in the final 40 seconds as the Bulls closed to 103-102, but Antonio Davis made two foul shots with 22 seconds left to make it 105-102.

The Bulls were unable to set up a 3-pointer on their next possession, and Jordan drove the lane and was fouled. Jordan made only one of two, the Bulls fouled Miller with 10 seconds left and he made both free throws for a four-point lead.

Pippen dunked just before the buzzer, but it was too little, too late.

The Pacers did all the things they said they needed to do in order to make this a competitive series. They cut down on their turnovers, committing only 15, got production from their bench and fair treatment from the referees.

They also reached their magic number by surpassing 100 points, making them 25-0 this season when they reach triple figures.

Jalen Rose led Indiana's bench production with 15 points, while Travis Best had 11 and Antonio Davis added 10 points.

Chicago 24 32 21 28-105
Indiana 28 36 25 30-107
CHICAGO (105) Pippen 17 8-22, Jordan 27 10-12, Miller 13 10-22, Best 11 2-12, Davis 10 5-10, Rose 15 3-10, Harper 3-3 2-5, Brown 1-2 0-2, Hakeem 3-6 4-14, Barnett 0-1 0-0, Bueckler 0-0 0-0, Kerr 1-3 2-5, Warrington 2-4 0-0 4. Totals 34-74 28-39.

INDIANA (107) Miller 13 10-22, Davis 10 5-10, Rose 15 3-10, Best 11 2-12, Jordan 27 10-12, Miller 13 10-22, Best 11 2-12, Davis 10 5-10, Rose 15 3-10, Harper 3-3 2-5, Brown 1-2 0-2, Hakeem 3-6 4-14, Barnett 0-1 0-0, Bueckler 0-0 0-0, Kerr 1-3 2-5, Warrington 2-4 0-0 4. Totals 34-74 28-39.

Technical-Chicago coach Jackson.

NBA Playoff Finals
CONFERENCE FINALS
(Best-of-7)
Saturday
Indiana 107, Chicago 105
(Chicago leads series 2-1)
Sunday
Indiana 107, Chicago 105
(Indiana leads series 3-0)
Today Chicago at Indiana

Korda heads for Paris with cold and low morale

By PATRICK WIGAL

DUESSELDORF (Reuters) - World No. 2 Petr Korda headed for the French Open yesterday with a heavy cold and low morale. "I look forward to warmer weather," said the Czech after being defeated 7-5 6-3 by German

Nicolas Kiefer in the World Team Cup final on a miserable afternoon in Duesseeldorf.

Sneezing at the post-match news conference, the Czech explained that he had been feeling unwell ever since his victory over Australian Mark Philippoussis here on Friday.

"I stayed in bed yesterday and I did not practice," he said.

"Because I'm so skinny, I hate it when it's cold and damp. All I can do is take medicine and hope my cold will go away." Korda, who faces a qualifier in the first round, will not play at Roland-Garros until tomorrow.

In his last match before the Paris tournament, the elegant Czech looked far from his brilliant best, making many unforced errors to allow Kiefer to present Germany with an unassailable 2-0 lead.

The 30-year-old Korda, a losing finalist at the 1992 French Open, has been enjoying the best form of his career this year.

Not only did he win the Australian Open but he also found himself in a position to clinch the No. 1 spot on several occasions.

"I want to be the world No. 1 even if it's just for one week," he said here earlier this week.

Korda has had a difficult start to the clay court season and he had just been shocked by Moroccan Hicham Arazi in the first round of

the Italian Open when he arrived in Duesseeldorf.

He started the event, used by the leading players as vital clay practice for the French Open, in promising fashion, crushing Sweden Jonas Bjorkman before overcoming a brave challenge from hard-hitting Philippoussis.

Korda, who could take the number one ranking from Pete Sampras in Paris, also said he would not put any unwanted pressure on himself.

"I've won a grand slam already and that's something nobody will take away from me," he said. "I was tired of reading that I was talented but perhaps not good enough for a big win."

"I did it at a time when nobody would have bet a penny on me and it was just great. Whatever happens from now on, I will wake up every morning knowing that I've won a grand slam."

"I've lost matches before. Now I've got 48 hours to get better and if it's sunny in Paris, I should do all right there."

Anna Smashnova, 102 in the WTA rankings and Israel's only representative at Roland Garros, will play Latvia's Larisa Neiland, 84, in the first round of the women's singles today.

TODAY'S SHOW COURT PROGRAM
The coverage on Channel 10
Center Court 1: Mark Philippoussis v. Hicham Arazi (12:00)
Side Court 1: Petr Korda v. Nicolas Kiefer (12:30)
Center Court 2: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (13:00)
Side Court 2: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (13:30)
Center Court 3: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (14:00)
Side Court 3: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (14:30)
Center Court 4: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (15:00)
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Center Court 5: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (16:00)
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Center Court 6: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (17:00)
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Center Court 7: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (18:00)
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Center Court 8: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (19:00)
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Center Court 9: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (20:00)
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Center Court 10: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (21:00)
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Center Court 11: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (22:00)
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Center Court 151: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (162:00)
Side Court 151: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (162:30)
Center Court 152: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (163:00)
Side Court 152: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (163:30)
Center Court 153: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (164:00)
Side Court 153: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (164:30)
Center Court 154: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (165:00)
Side Court 154: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (165:30)
Center Court 155: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (166:00)
Side Court 155: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (166:30)
Center Court 156: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (167:00)
Side Court 156: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (167:30)
Center Court 157: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (168:00)
Side Court 157: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (168:30)
Center Court 158: Andre Agassi v. Andrei Medvedev (169:00)
Side Court 158: Andre Agassi v.